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ART. I. *War with China: order in council, presented to parliament by her majesty's command, April 4th; parliamentary debate on its policy, with remarks on the same from the Friend of India.*

WAR against China being now fully undertaken,—though it seems not to have been openly declared, by Great Britain,—its causes, the mode and manner in which it is carried on, with the ways and means by which it can be brought to a proper termination, all alike demand *much* more consideration than they have yet received. No war in modern times, or perhaps in any age since the world began, has involved the weal or woe of so many human beings, as are now likely to be affected for good or for evil by the present struggle; yet never was there a war undertaken, about which there was so much ignorance as to its causes, its objects, the manner of its being conducted, &c., as there now is with regard to this war. It is on a new theatre of action. Even her Britannic majesty's ministers directing this war *seem* to be in doubt how to act, and how to direct. Witness the conversation which took place in the House of Lords, May 5th.

"The public having been left more in the dark respecting the expedition to China than had ever been the case respecting any expedition of equal importance and strength," said lord Ashburton, "and he therefore wished to know under whose guidance and command it was intended to place the ships and men. The armament being a joint naval and military one, he thought it important that the public should know who was to have the conduct of it."

"The general conduct of the expedition," answered viscount Melbourne, "would undoubtedly be under the governor-general of India."

"And will the governor-general act on his own discretion, or from instructions sent out from England," asked the earl of Ripon.

"Instructions would be sent of course," it was replied, "but still the governor-general would act as circumstances might require."

"Will he accompany the expedition?" asked lord Ashburton. "No, No," answered the viscount.

"The object of this expedition being to obtain reparation, to establish courts of judicature, and to conduct negotiations," lord Ashburton said again, "he wished to know who was to have the conduct of these negotiations."

"The naval officers, I apprehend," was lord Melbourne's reply.

"Does the noble viscount mean captain Elliot?" "No," was again his reply.

Public journalists, it is commonly and rightfully expected, will not keep silence respecting such momentous interests as those now here at stake; and in speaking they are bound, in justice to the public — so far at least as its interests are concerned — to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: and it should always be "the truth in love." This high obligation we acknowledge, and would gladly discharge. But here in matters of fact and of opinion, so difficult is this task, that we must often be allowed to refer to others, and call on them to speak,—especially when the facts or opinions in question concern themselves, whoever they may be, whether Chinese or foreigners.

Acting with these views, we here introduce, H. B. M.'s order in council referring to China, with remarks on its policy by some of the leading members of parliament. The queen's first speech regarding Chinese affairs will be found on page 107, of this volume. The following is the

Order in council,

Presented to Parliament by her majesty's command, April 4th.

At the court at Buckingham palace, the 4th day of April, 1840. Present the queen's most excellent majesty in council. Whereas there was this day read at the board the annexed draft of a commission, authorizing the commissioner for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain to will and require the several courts of admiralty to take cognizance of and judicially proceed upon all captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals that have been or shall be made of ships or vessels belonging to the emperor of China or his subjects;

her majesty, taking the same into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of her privy council, to approve thereof, and to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the right hon. viscount Palmerston, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, do cause the said commission to be prepared for her majesty's signature, with a proper warrant for the immediate passing the same under the great seal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

G. C. Greville.

Victoria R.—Victoria, by the grace of God, queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counselor Gilbert, earl of Minto, knight grand cross of the most hon. military order of the Bath; our trusty and well-beloved sir Charles Adam, knight commander of the most hon. military order of the Bath, vice-admiral of the blue squadron of our fleet; sir William Parker, knight commander of the most hon. military order of the Bath, rear-admiral of the white squadron of our fleet; sir Edward Thomas Troubridge, bart., captain in our navy; sir Samuel John Brooke Pechell, bart, captain in our navy, and Archibald Primrose, esq., (commonly called lord Dalmeny,) our commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, and to our commissioners for executing that office for the time being, greeting. Whereas, we have taken into consideration the late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the emperor of China towards certain of our officers and subjects: and whereas we have given orders that satisfaction and reparation for the same shall be demanded from the Chinese government: and whereas it is expedient, with the view to obtain such satisfaction and reparation, that ships, vessels, and cargoes belonging to the emperor of China and to his subjects shall be detained and held in custody; and, if such reparation and satisfaction be refused by the Chinese government, the ships, vessels, and cargoes so detained, and others to be thereafter detained, shall be confiscated and sold, and that the proceeds thereof shall be applied in such manner as we may hereafter be pleased to direct: we, therefore, are pleased, by and with the advice of our privy council, to order that the commanders of our ships of war do detain and bring into port all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the emperor of China or his subjects, or other persons inhabiting within any of the countries, territories or dominions of China; and in the event of such reparation and satisfaction as aforesaid having been refused by the Chinese government to bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within our dominions. These are, therefore, to authorize, and we do hereby authorize and enjoin you, our said commissioners, now and for the time being, or any three or more of you, to will and require our high court of admiralty of England, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, and his surrogate or surrogates, and also the several courts of admiralty within our dominions, which shall be duly commissioned, and they are hereby authorized and required to take cognizance of

and judicially to proceed upon all and every manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships, vessels, and goods already seized and taken, and which hereafter shall be seized and taken, and hear and determine the same according to the course of admiralty and the laws of nations, and to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to China, or subjects of the emperor of China, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, or dominions. In witness whereof, we have caused the great seal of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these presents, which we have signed with our royal hand.

Given at our court at Buckingham palace, the 4th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1840, and in the third year of our reign.

This was on Saturday; on the following Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 7th, 8th, and 9th of the month, the subject was debated in parliament, by sir James Graham, Mr. Macauley, sir W. Follett, sir George Staunton, Messrs. Herbert, Hawes, Thessiger, C. Buller, E. Gladstone, Ward, Palmer, Hogg, Dr. Lushington, lord Sandon, sir John Hobhouse, sir R. Peel, lord Palmerston, &c. The following paragraphs, selected from the papers of the day, may be regarded, we suppose, as fair specimens of the debate.

Sir James Graham rose to bring before the House a subject of the deepest importance—in which immense national interests were at stake—the subject of our relations with China. The House had not been invited by the crown to express an opinion on this subject, but it could not, consistently with its duty to the public, forbear the expression of such opinion. One-sixth of the whole revenue of England and India is involved in our relations with China. China annually remitted to India 1,700,000*l.* in specie, and the tax on tea alone was last year upwards of 3,000,000*l.* The inhabitants of China are 350,000,000 of souls, all under one man's will, obeying one law, and speaking one language. We judge of China from our experience at Canton, as a foreigner suffered to anchor at the Nore, and afterwards imprisoned at Wapping, might speak of the resources, genius, and character of the British isles. The Chinese boast of education, painting, and the arts of civilized life as familiar to them, while western Europe was in a state of barbarism. They have a regularly collected revenue of 60,000,000*l.* a year, and no debt; one of their works is a canal 1200 miles in length. Is it not wiser to trade than to quarrel with such a nation? They are jealous of strangers, but especially of Britons, for they look across the Himalayas, and see, in one century, all India subdued to our power under the pretense of trade. They saw our first factory become a garrison; they saw a Clive and a Wellesley complete their triumphs, and they are naturally jealous of such a people. They now see us pass the Hydaspes, and on our passage through Candahar, see Central India tremble. Is it surprising that they will not allow us to settle among them? He touched on the policy of the E. I. Company, and read a letter to the supercargoes, dated in 1832, urging the most pacific course. He then read the resolutions of sir G. Staunton, and said they had not received the attention they merited. In spite of the advice of that right hon. baronet, lord Napier was sent out with positive orders to fix himself at Canton, without any previous communication with the imperial government

of Peking. He (sir J. Graham) pleaded guilty to his full share of that transaction. The British superintendent was required to place himself at Canton, which was wrong, and then communicate his presence to the viceroy, which was wrong too. Then the attempt to transfer the power of the supercargoes under the East India Company to the superintendent was an error, for that power had been previously revoked. Again, the order that British subjects should be protected, had never been enforced. The mission of lord Napier was one grave error. The India Company had warned the government of the necessity of an understanding with the court of Peking, and so had the duke of Wellington in his memorable memorial to his colleagues on quitting office in 1835. All that the noble duke had recommended was disregarded, and the noble lord the secretary for foreign affairs continued to act, and force others to act, on the order in council of 1833. Sir G. Robinson remained two years in the outer waters, and during that period all went well, but sir George expressed a wish to let well alone, and he was instantly recalled. (Hear.) He further charged lord Palmerston with founding his bill for regulating the China trade on extracts, which the now entire correspondence proved to have been faithless. He knew at the time of the difficulties that were arising out of the opium trade; but he concealed them. He was repeatedly warned, but in vain. The emperor never sanctioned opium trading, but corrupt viceroys did; the question was discussed at Peking, and a prohibitory law passed by a majority of one in the Chinese cabinet,—(hear)—from that moment affairs were changed at Canton. But were we on our guard against the change? For forty-five months no ship-of-war was seen in the Canton waters, and not until captain Douglas, at his own expense, bought guns at Singapore and manned his ship, had they any defensive means. (Hear.) Captain Elliot had hitherto conducted himself with discretion, but now he attacked the war-junks; hauled off after a hard fight for want of ammunition; brought the "Volage" next day, but sailed away again without a shot; proclaimed a blockade—repealed it. He again attacked the war-junks without a plea and without a result. Now he begged to say the war approaching was no little war of peace establishments and brief duration. The distance, the climate, the monsoon, and the apathy of the soldiers would make the war heavy. Was such a war necessary? He believed not, and he supported his belief by moving a resolution to the following effect:—

That it appears to this House, on consideration of the papers relating to China, presented to this House by command of her majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of her majesty's present advisers, in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the superintendent was placed.

Mr. Macauley said it was almost tantamount to approval of the course of ministers, that an opponent so willing to charge should have found so little to bring against them. It referred to past transactions, and did not censure present policy. His charge was for omissions, not for committed faults. As India could be governed only in India, so the resident in China was left a large discretion. The government had failed, it appeared, to give instructions to the superintendent in China as precise as if he were going to Brussels or to Paris. Why that was the policy of Lord Grey's cabinet—they gave principles and avoided details—and the only dispatch of the duke of Wellington was a reference to the instructions of lord Palmerston. (Hear.) There were four charges.—1st, the government omitted to correct the order

to reside at Canton; 2d, to correct their order for the correspondence with Peking; 3d, their neglect of the Wellington memorandum; and 4th, they did not give power to put down the trade in opium. Now the residence of the superintendent was conceded by the Chinese, and was never made a question. The second point was never urged as an objection. As to the third charge, the duke had suggested that a frigate should be on the coast during the then suspension of the trade, and so there was. But he did not ask that an armed naval force should always be found on the coast of China. As to the opium trade, the government here had not tried to stop it because they expected that it would be legalized by the Chinese government. The duke of Wellington, in 1835, had not attempted to stop that trade. The trade could not have been suppressed without the aid of the Chinese themselves. In England we had a preventive service which cost half a million of money, which employed 6,000 effective men, and upwards of fifty cruisers, and yet every one knew well every article which was reasonably portable, which was much desired, and on which severe duties were imposed, was smuggled to a very great extent; 600,000 gallons of brandy were smuggled, and quite as much tobacco as paid duty was contraband. (Hear, hear.) Could it be supposed even that, if the orders of Elliot had failed, the preventive service of China, had it been as effectual and trustworthy as our own, would have been able to overcome the affection of the opium-eater for the drug upon which he feasted, or the longing of the merchant for the profit which he obtained? (Hear) No machinery, however powerful, had been sufficient to keep out of any country those luxuries which the people enjoyed or were able to purchase, or to prevent the efflux of precious metals, when it was demanded by the course of trade. But when the Chinese government, finding that by just and lawful means they could not carry out their prohibition, resorted to measures unjust and unlawful, confined our innocent countrymen, and insulted the sovereign in the person of her representative; then, he thought the time had arrived when it was fit that we should interfere. (Hear.) They began by a demand of a vast amount of property which was in Canton, and next they required the sacrifice of innocent blood. (Cheers.) Now, the English in China felt that, although far from their native country, and then in danger in a part of the world remote from that which they must look for protection, yet that they belonged to a state which would not suffer the hair of one of its members to be harmed with impunity. He felt bound to declare his earnest desire that this most rightful quarrel might be prosecuted to a triumphant close—that the brave men to whom was intrusted the task of demanding that reparation which the circumstances of the case required might fulfill their duties with moderation, but with success—that the name, not only of English valor, but of English mercy, might be established; and that the overseeing care of that gracious Providence which had so often brought good out of evil, might make the crime which had forced us to take those measures which had been adopted, the means of promoting everlasting peace, alike beneficial to England and China.

Sir W. Follett quoted several dispatches, in one of which captain Elliot said, "If every commander of a British merchant vessel, moved by his own particular and transient interests, has indeed full power to enter into and conclude separate negotiations with the officers of this peculiar government upon subjects of great general importance, and involving the abandonment of principles that her majesty's government has always steadfastly maintained, the British trade with China must soon cease to exist." Could there be a greater censure on the government than this dispatch from their own officer? (Cheers from the opposition.) The noble lord had been told of the piratical nature of the trade—of the probable danger of its consequences—of the edicts of the Chinese emperor—of the fact that the lawful legitimate trade was threatened with an imminent peril

—and, under all these circumstances, it was incumbent upon the government to have done something towards the removal of these difficulties and dangers, and the only instruction he gave was to press for a character of more consequence than that of "*pin*" on the superscription of the correspondence (Laughter.) Now, if the House were called upon to decide, aye or no, whether the occurrences in China were attributable to the neglect of her majesty's ministers, it was impossible to read the dispatches without coming to the conclusion that they had most culpably neglected British interests in China The Chinese had been described by captain Elliot as a people looking only for justice; and he (sir William Follett) confessed he should be very sorry to give his consent to our letting loose upon them all the horrors and calamities of war, unless the justice of our resort to hostilities was clear and undisputed. (Hear, hear.) He thought the charges, which amounted to a censure upon the government for its past conduct in reference to the Chinese, were fully and completely made out. (Cheers.)

Sir G. Staunton was as strongly opposed as any member of that House to the opium trade, but he maintained that the Chinese in their recent efforts to put it down had far exceeded what in all previous times had been the acknowledged and well-known law of the land. In the present struggle he conceived that our commercial relations with China were not alone at stake. He was satisfied that if we quietly submitted to a commercial degradation in that country, the time would not be distant when much of our political ascendency would be lost in India. (Cheers.) The motion now before the House entirely evaded the question of whether the contest upon which we were about to enter with China were a righteous and a just one, or an unrighteous and a cruel one. He thought it a just and fitting war, and he would support the government.

Mr. Herbert supported the motion, and the debate was adjourned.

Dr. Lushington gave credit to sir J. Graham for having constructed his motion on the principle of the drag-net—to catch the large fish, the little fish, and the loose fish. He admitted that China was no party to the law of nations, commonly so called, but she could not be exempt from the great obligations of ordinary justice. Considering the peculiarly mischievous properties of opium, and the extensive growth of it in our Indian dominions, he might have acknowledged that China would have been entitled to call on us for the suppression of its sale within her limits, if she herself had been making genuine efforts for that suppression; but while she was urging this demand on us, herself was conniving at the trade. Suppose, however, that instructions had been sent to captain Elliot to put down the traffic, and that the merchants, which was not very likely, had submitted to leave Canton; the only result would have been that they would have diffused it over other parts of the coast. Thus the mischief would have been kept alive, and yet the Chinese would have been taught to believe that your superintendent had powers to put it down. It had been said that omission was as culpable as commission. But to establish that culpability, you should show that some specific act had been left undone which was dictated by a plain duty. At all events, however, the conduct of the Chinese was incapable of any justification; the seizure of our traders, the expulsion of our people from the Portuguese settlement of Macao, the poisoning of the waters,—astonishingly vindicated by the member for Newark—for these outrages England was entitled to demand reparation, and, if not otherwise attainable, to effect it by force.

Lord Sandon said, that though a contraband trade might have evaded all detection while confined to about 6,000 chests, it became much less secure against the pursuit of the authorities when it increased to 20,000. And the authorities, who had been remiss while the traffic was a small one, might be disposed *bonâ fide* to assert their restrictions when they saw the alarming increase of the evil. He showed, by extracts from the published papers, how frequently and ineffectually the attention of ministers had been called to the growing mischief. He contrasted their neglect with the diligence and fore-

sight evinced in the duke of Wellington's memorandum. 'The conduct of China in enforcing her demand of the opium by the seizure of persons not engaged in the importation of it had been the subject of much animadversion; but our own law recognized the principle of making the innocent civilly answerable for the acts of the guilty, as in the common instances of the liability of a hundred, or other local divisions, for damage done to property by rioters. Great stress was laid on the poisoning of the waters; but those who expressed their horror at this, seemed to reconcile themselves with perfect ease to the poisoning of millions of people with this destructive drug.

Sir John Hobhouse contended that if there was ground for this motion there was ground for a much stronger vote. But the present proceeding was not a practical one; it proposed no suspension of the hostilities which it condemned; it was a mere party matter, brought forward without the slightest care for China, and calculated, like the wisely abandoned motion of last year, to damp the energies of those who were to fight their country's battles. The various speakers on the other side had agreed in no definite opinion about the justice of the war with China; yet surely, before they sought the removal of the present ministry, they should have made up their minds whether they would support that war, if conducted by another cabinet. With respect to the opium trade, its enormities had long since been exposed to Parliament; and none of those whose consciences were now so tender on this topic had then stepped forward to express their disapprobation. But now it seemed to be made matter of blame that the British ministry did not introduce a bill for making it penal to smuggle opium into China. He then entered into various details to show the impossibility of preventing this description of contraband. What, he asked, was the effect of commissioner Lin's own measures? He had received a letter from the governor-general of India, and another letter, both of which showed the little effect to be expected from repressive measures. Lord Auckland, in his letter dated the 13th of February, said: "In the meantime our opium trade is rising in price, and some of our merchants are making fortunes by sales on the eastern coast of China." He begged to call the particular attention of the House to the next statement in the letter, which was so startling, that without such high authority, he could not believe it. Lord Auckland said: "One small cruiser came in last week with 70,000 pounds of sycee silver." He defended the conduct of captain Elliot, and concluded by expressing a hope that the circumstances of the case would be found to justify ministers in the responsibility they had undertaken.

Sir R. Peel pointed out that, though the crown had sent no message to the House on the affairs of China, and invited from it no opinion, the country was, by the confession of ministers, on the verge of war with a region inhabited by almost one-third of the whole human race. And the objection of those ministers to this motion on so momentous a subject was, that its proceedings had ever been usual under a free constitution, and were inseparable from it. But the present case, it had been said, was of too great magnitude to be canvassed by a party motion. That is, your impunity is to be in proportion to the greatness of the interest you endanger. Your war, however, may be an unjust one with reference to its causes; and yet it may have been rendered a necessary one, by the gross neglect and misconduct of the ministers who have brought it on. The charge against them was, not that they did not foresee what the emperor of China would do, but that, in the new state of things arising out of the opening of the trade, they sent out a superintendent furnished with no instructions, and strengthened with no moral force from the presence of naval support. The distance was set up as a reason for their meagre and contradictory instructions; but they might, without fettering him by specific orders, have possessed him of their general

views, as to the place of residence, the mode of communication, and the traffic in opium. The moral effect of a naval force might have been secured without stationing it so near as to give umbrage to the Chinese. He referred to the papers, and pointed out what the act allowed the ministers to do. They sent out imperfect orders; they extended what did not exist; they introduced first one bill and then another, and suffered both to be delayed till nearly the end of a session; they neglected to establish a criminal jurisdiction by order in council; and he pointed out intreaties and remonstrances which, he contended, had been neglected by the noble lord. Had his only object been to obtain a majority, that object would probably have been accomplished by a motion simply condemning the war and the traffic in opium. But he could not conscientiously say that some further continuation of hostilities, however culpably they were originated, might not, in the actual state of things, be now unhappily necessary. Still, he was anxious to prevent the unfair excitement of the public mind against the Chinese. Some of their acts were indefensible; but our provocations, and the general humanity of the people, ought not to be forgotten. If war was necessary, let it not be conducted in a revengeful spirit, but rather with a disposition for reöpening the way to a permanent friendship. Let it be remembered that success itself might lead to fearful consequences—perhaps to revolution and anarchy among 350,000,000 of men. Let it be considered that the interests of other states might be so effected by our hostility, as to involve us in difficulties with their governments also. The late blockade had lasted only five days, but it had produced a remonstrance from the American merchants. He concluded by an earnest prayer that heaven might avert from this country those evils to which the misconduct of her rulers had justly exposed her.

Lord PALMERSTON rose at a quarter before two o'clock, to make a brief statement. If, indeed, the resolution of the right hon. baronet had not been pointedly directed against that department of the government which he had himself the honor to conduct, he should undoubtedly, after what he must—without meaning any offense—be allowed to call a feeble conception of a motion, and a feeble enforcement of it in debate —(loud cheers)—have left the case to the eloquent defence of his honorable friends. He admitted that a person might approve of the vigorous prosecution of a war and hostilities in which the government might be engaged, and yet that he might disapprove of the conduct of the government which he might think had led to the hostilities in which they were engaged. Had the hon. baronet (sir J. Graham), however, met more encouragement from the enemies of opium and the enemies of war, his motion would have tended somewhat more directly to the end he sought, that end avowedly being to transfer power from the hands of those who now held it into the hands of honorable gentlemen opposite. (Cheers.) The motion said that "the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with the Chinese, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly attributable," and so forth Why the papers which had been laid on the House showed that, whatever might be the interruption in our intercourse with China that might be produced by the temporary hostilities that where about to arise between us and China, yet, up to the latest period at which we had received any advices, there had been no permanent interruption of our commercial relations, and that the truth was, that those relations in the year that had passed had been more prosperous, more profitable, and more successful than in any former year. (Loud cheers, and some ironical opposition cheers.) He meant, of course, the legal trade, he was not speaking of the trade in opium. (Cheers.) All the speakers said instructions were wanting, but no one attempted to describe what those instructions should have been. He was glad to see that captain Elliot was

not censured, for he thought that whilst they were struggling for that power which it was an object of honorable ambition to possess, and, whilst they were making attacks on one party or on the other for that end, that none should endeavor to make the servants of the public on foreign stations, who were acting up to their instructions, and to the best of their ability, the victims of the struggle. (Cheers.) Captain Elliot had not encouraged the opium trade, he had not offered to protect the opium ships, nor need he, for they were armed and could protect themselves. His commencing action was justified in the one case to prevent the people from starving, and in the other to protect the "Volage" from threatened attack. As to lord Napier, he thought the sacrifice of his life in the performance of his duty should protect his memory. (Hear, hear, hear.) With regard to the poisoning of water, as defended by Mr. Gladstone, he was ready to believe, from his heart, from his knowledge of the character of the honorable gentleman, that he was the last man in the House who would upon reflection stand up in his place to defend a doctrine so monstrous—(cheers)—but he regretted that he had not immediately explained away his statement. Mr. Thessiger had given tremendous back-hand hits to his friends; he imputed all the evils to instructions emanating from a cabinet of which sir J Graham was a member, and did not spare even sir R. Peel He had studied the Blue Book like a brief, and made a speech out of it. With regard to the Wellington memorandum, it was unnecessary to say one word in allusion to the promptitude of the noble duke in performing all the duties which he was called upon to go through in any office which he might hold, or to attempt to raise his reputation as a man of business, by saying that he answered the letters which came to him on the day after they reached him. But what was the substance of the letter written by him, on which so much stress had been laid, and which was so much depended upon as exhibiting the noble duke's aptitude for business? It was this:—"I refer you to the instructions and orders in council given by the preceding government; I have nothing better to tell you, than that you should strictly follow them" (Cheers.) Now as to the conduct of the debate. If an accusation of the sin of commission were intended, he granted that the statement of the matters complained of, without any suggestion being thrown out as to what ought to have been done, was necessary; but when the offense alleged was omission, the case was reverted—(loud ministerial cheers)—and the persons who brought forward the accusation were bound to state the grounds on which it was made, and to point out what, in their opinion, ought to have been done. (Renewed cheers.) The general instructions given to the superintendent were the same as those always given to every consular officer appointed to a foreign station. He was instructed to acquire all possible information—to protect all British subjects—to mediate between British subjects and the government of the country. (Cries of hear, hear.) They who charged that no court had been established could not have read the papers, because, if they only cast their eyes on the order in council of 1833, they would see that it did establish that very court of admiralty and criminal jurisdiction, which they were charged with not having established; and the bill to extend its powers, the China trade bill, was withdrawn, on a statement by lord Ellenborough, that he meant to object to the bill, and to sustain his objections at great length. The duke of Wellington had recommended a frigate, and he (lord Palmerston) had acted on that opinion, and wrote directions to the admiral commanding-in-chief on the India station, not only to send a ship-of-war as often as he could, and to remain as long as was necessary, on the China station, but he directed the admiral, also, to do that which was rather an extraordinary thing, namely, to take the earliest opportunity of going himself

in a line-of-battle ship to the China station, in order that, by communicating personally with the superintendent, he might obtain that information and make those arrangements which would secure a ready communication between the superintendent and the admiral and the naval force under his command, in case of necessity. As far then as regarded the constitution of the court, and the protection of the trade by ships of war, he (viscount Palmerston) did more than others expected to accomplish. It was complained that his instructions were not long enough. Some persons seemed to think that a letter to China ought to be as long as the voyage. (Laughter.) He thought if it was clear, it was the better for being short. The Chinese were not in earnest in the wish to prohibit opium. Why had they not put down the cultivation of the poppy in China? (Hear, hear.) No, it was with them a bullion question, and there was perhaps a poppy agricultural interest concerned in excluding foreign opium. (Cheers.) It had been said that he ought to have sent an embassador to China. Certainly that was a proposition not undeserving of consideration. Hitherto it had been vain. His lordship read the document of the American merchants approving captain Elliot's conduct, and then an address, signed by British merchants, concluding thus:—"We disclaim all pretensions of dictating to the Chinese the mode in which the British trade with China shall be carried on; but we cannot refrain from expressing our deliberate opinion that unless the measures of the government are followed up with firmness and energy, the trade with China can no longer be conducted with security to life and property, or with credit and advantage to the British nation." (Loud cheers.) No country, he submitted, should ever be deterred from enforcing a just demand by the difficulties which might probably be in the way of its attainment. (Hear, hear, and ironical cheers from the opposition.) But feeling, as he did, that the object of this expedition would probably be accomplished without resorting to warlike operations, and that the demonstration of the British forces acting on the mind of the emperor of China might bring him to a sense of that justice which was said generally to inspire him, he (lord Palmerston) could not help hoping that these disputes might yet be brought to an amicable and happy termination. He had the utmost confidence that they would, upon this occasion, receive the support of the house, as he felt that they fully deserved it, in negativing the motion of censure which had been brought against them. The noble lord sat down amidst loud and protracted cheering.

Sir James Graham then rose to reply, but the noise in the House, and the impatience of members were so great, that very few of his sentences reached the gallery. The House divided, and there appeared—For the resolution 262, against it 271; majority for ministers 9.

The result was hailed with loud cheers from the ministerial benches. The other orders of the day were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at half past 4 o'clock.

Three or four more short extracts from the remarks of lord Stanhope, lord Melbourne, the duke of Wellington, and lord Ellenborough, (made May 12th) shall close our extracts from the parliamentary debate.

Lord Stanhope presented an address to her majesty, expressing the deep concern of the House on learning that an interruption had occurred in our friendly relations with the Chinese empire, representing that it had been occasioned by the perseverance of British subjects in taking opuim to China; and praying that her majesty would be pleased to take measures for the prevention of such proceedings. Whether the motives which had actuated the

Chinese government were moral, political, fiscal, or capricious, he apprehended that it was still incumbent upon every foreigner to render absolute and unconditional obedience to the laws of the country in which he resided, and whether therefore the importation of opium was prohibited because it debased the intellect, and depraved the character of the Chinese, or because it produced a scarcity of the circulating medium, we were equally bound to respect their laws. It had been said that the prohibition existed only in theory, while the opium was in practice freely admitted if not subjected to a stated impost, and that the edicts of the emperor were mere waste paper. Venality and corruption were indeed as prevalent in China as elsewhere; even in this country, contraband goods could be insured for 10 per cent; but the villany of inferior mandarins by no means proved the connivance of the imperial government, whose policy had been always most decided, who had imposed the most rigorous prohibitions on the trade, and had punished most severely those officers who had neglected their duty. It had been stated that the superintendent was only bound to prevent smuggling within the Canton river. He was unaware of any such nice geographical distinction, but he thought we could not permit a fleet of smugglers to rendezvous at Spithead, although their boats were not allowed to land at Portsmouth. The disposition of the Chinese had always been to conciliate; edicts had been passed to prevent the exactions of the hong merchants; captain Elliot spoke of the increasing desire to come to an amicable arrangement; and their humane treatment of shipwrecked seamen proved that implicit confidence might be placed in their good feeling. A corresponding policy was not, however, acceptable to the English residents who had repelled all advances by the most insulting and offensive conduct, and by threats of an appeal to force. A great deal had been said of the imprisonment of our embassador; but it would appear that it was at most but a short detention; that he was at best but a consular agent, with none of the privileges of an embassador; and that he had only been detained because he chose to force a passage up to Canton to join the merchants who were most justly imprisoned there, and who had no reason to complain of their treatment, as by the Chinese law they would have been capitally punished, and by the English law they would have been fined treble the value of the contraband goods which were simply confiscated. It might be impossible to suppress the opium trade, and it was so in the case of the slave trade; but no exertion should be wanting to restrain a traffic which had already proved so detrimental to our commercial interests.

Lord Melbourne, in his reply, entirely agreed with the noble lord as to the duty of foreigners to obey the laws of the country to which they traded; but although it was unquestionable that a country should not abet its subjects infringing the laws of another, it was by no means necessary that it should take upon itself the charge of enforcing them. It had been for some time clear that matters were coming to a crisis in China, but it was impossible to foresee whether importation of opium would be legalized upon payment of a duty, or whether it would be altogether prohibited; and, in fact, circumstances were such, that at no period could the government at home have sent out instructions which would not at the time of their arrival have found matters in a state wholly different from that to which they were intended to apply. The noble lord had only attacked the government through its agent, captain Elliot, but he thought, that, considering the difficulty of the circumstances he had to deal with, the novelty of his situation, and the danger to which he was exposed, he had acted with the greatest prudence and resolution. The firing on the junks had been complained of, and it was not perhaps the most prudent course he could have adopted; but making allowance for the want of supplies and the circumstance of irritation, his error should be

overlooked both in this case and the blockade. The address proposed by the noble lord would only have the effect of embarrassing all operations, whether of the nature of negotiations or of hostilities, and would hold out to the Chinese expectations which could not possibly be realized of the suppression of the trade. We possessed, moreover, immense territories, peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though he would wish that the government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, he was not prepared to pledge himself to relinquish it.

"It is perfectly true," said the duke of WELLINGTON, "as it has been stated by the noble earl, that the trade in opium has been carried on contrary to the laws of China. But then it was carried on with the knowledge of the local authorities on the spot, who received large payments, otherwise bribes, or in the way of duties, possibly in both, for the import of this opium—the trade was forbidden by the law of China; but practically it was allowed—it was known to the authorities in China—to the emperor himself, and to all the servants of the government for many years; and the question had been debated, whether the trade should be allowed and continued upon a duty, or whether it should be discontinued altogether. Allow me to ask the noble earl, who has contended so very strongly for the morality of the emperor of China, if that morality was so very great when he allowed that trade to be continued, or whether his morality could be improved in any respect by opium being introduced upon the payment of a large duty, instead of its being introduced by means of smuggling, and under bribes paid to the officers of the government, and even, as it has been shown from the exterior waters, into the interior of the country in the mandarin boats, that is, in boats either in the service of the country, or at all events under the charge of officers of the government; I really cannot see the force of the noble earl's arguments with respect to the illegality of the trade, when it is as clear as possible that it was well known to the government of China, and that no step was ever taken to put it down; but, on the contrary, the means of continuing it, and of requiring a large duty upon it, were under consideration; and, in point of fact, the trade was finally put down and discontinued because it was supposed that it occasioned the export of a large quantity of native silver—that which is called sycee silver—it being the silver of the country."

"Further," his grace observed—"with respect to the trade in opium, we must, as British subjects, look at it in another view. It is a trade perfectly well known to the government of India; it is perfectly well known to parliament; it is perfectly well known to her majesty's servants, to the East India Company; and it was known to the government previous to the existing administration. I sat as a member of a committee of the House of Lords to inquire into this, among other branches of trade, and I remember that evidence was received upon this subject; and I saw that it was a great object that this very trade in opium should be continued after the monopoly by the East India Company had been done away with. Questions were put to witnesses, whether trade could not be extended, but more particularly in this very branch—the trade of opium; and in the report of the committee of the House of Commons, it will be found, that it is particularly observed that it was desirable that it should be continued. Really, then, under these circumstances, it is rather a little hard to come down upon these men, and to say that they have been guilty of an offense, for which they are not only to be punished with a loss of their property, but to be absolutely abandoned; and then to have told to them—'You have been the cause of this war—you have been the cause of this great misfortune, and you therefore, never shall have any redress whatever.' That is a course to which, I, for one, never can be a party to." * * *

Again. "I say that it would have been most unjust if he had given up these men to be dealt with according to the laws of China, for the putting to death a Chinese, when he was convinced, upon inquiry, that no charge of guilt could be made out against them."

And again, said the duke —

"I should, my lords, be ashamed of the name of Englishman if there could be found one in her majesty's service capable of acting otherwise than the British superintendent did, under such circumstances. It was his duty to protect Mr. Dent, even to the spilling of the last drop of his blood. He had no right to give up Mr. Dent, who was living under the protection of the British government. It was his duty to protect Mr. Dent, and for his doing that I do most highly approve of his conduct. I say that it would have been a total dereliction of his duty to give up Mr. Dent to be destroyed by the Chinese. I should be ashamed of the very name of an Englishman if he had done so. But then the noble earl has said that a great deal of difficulty would have been got rid of—that the Americans had also given up a seaman to be dealt with according to the Chinese laws."

Lord ELLENBOROUGH insisted upon the extreme inexpediency as well as the inefficiency of any attempts to prevent the growth of opium in our Indian possessions. The sum at present received as revenue from that source amounted to upwards of a million and a half, which was in effect a tax upon foreigners, and if that were lost, the deficiency would require to be supplied by a tax on our own subjects, while all endeavors to suppress the trade from other parts would be entirely fruitless The cry that had been raised against the importation of opium, proceeded in a great degree from the impression that broadcloth might be imported instead, but no idea was more completely unfounded.

In the preceding debate, and in the extracts from the Friend of India which we are about to make, there are some errors in facts which deserve correction, and some arguments and opinions advanced which ought not to be passed over unnoticed. To these we will return in a separate article, concluding this with extracts from the Friend of India, for July 9th. The editor says—

"The last mail has brought us the debate on the opium question, and on the war with China. When we first heard that the present hostilities were to be discussed in the great council of the nation, we naturally supposed that the debate would have turned upon high moral principles, and have reflected honor upon the character of the august representatives of the most enlightened, moral, and benevolent people under the sun. We thought that it would elicit such an expression of public opinion, on the growth and smuggling of opium,—which were acknowledged to be the occasion of the war,—as to lead to some decisive resolution, which should embrace the future welfare of England, India, and China. We find, however, that it was a debate got up clearly and unequivocally for party purposes; and that its object was simply to trip up the heels of the ministry. It was an attempt on the part of sir James Graham to oust his old friends, and seat new ones, in Downing street. It is singular, that on so momentous a question as a war which involved the interests of one third of

the human race, and of which our rapacity was the occasion, though not the proximate cause, not one generous, noble or exalted sentiment appears to have escaped the lips of the speakers. The consequences of weakening the government which keeps the passions of so vast a multitude in check; the indirect, but inevitable result of our success, in giving an irresistible impulse to the consumption of opium, and thus riveting the chains of a deplorable habit on the Chinese, engaged no attention. It was a grand field-day, in which the strength of the two parties in the state was to be tried. The debate was as stupid as the drug to which it alluded, and as factious as the spirit of party, could make it. To us, who, at the distance of half the globe, are accustomed to contemplate and admire the wisdom of Parliament, it appears scarcely less than a miracle, that such arguments as were brought forward, could have commanded such a majority. The charge against the ministry is, that they have brought on this war by their omissions. And what did they omit?

"*First;* they omitted to rectify, says sir James, the mistake made by the administration, of which he was one of the chief ornaments, of ordering the superintendent to reside at Canton. But this mistake had already been rectified by the superintendent himself, who had for some time ceased to reside there, and was absent from it when the disturbances broke out. If his residence at Canton had really given umbrage to the Chinese, and induced them to adopt those measures which have ended in the war, the commissioner Lin, who has raked together in his proclamations, all the sins of the English barbarians, would not have omitted to notice this transgression of the celestial empire.

"*Secondly:* the ministry omitted to give captain Elliot a stout frigate, and a brig of war. If he had possessed these two vessels, would the misunderstanding with the Chinese have been prevented? Where was captain Elliot to have placed them, that they might have been available for any sudden emergency? The Chinese would not have allowed him to have kept them 'prowling about' in their waters. The *Wellesley*, a stout seventy-four, had visited China a little before the disturbance; and the Chinese authorities gave the English no rest till she had 'hoisted her sails and gone away.' Even the little steam packet, established by the merchants to ply between Canton and the outport, the Chinese would not allow to advance up the river, till she had taken out her 'fire guts.' So far is it from the truth, that the want of a stout frigate and a gun brig brought on the war, that their constant presence would have been been a perpetual blister, a cause of unceasing mistrust and irritation, and would have served, more than anything else, to hasten these hostilities. But if these vessels had been at the disposal of captain Elliot, and if, while we were at peace with that jealous government, he had used them in the defence of our interests, and war had ensued, who would have been louder in denouncing the ministry for having left such instruments of mischief at the command of such a superintendent, than sir James?

"*Thirdly:* the ministry had omitted to send an autograph letter to

the emperor. And would an autograph from our gracious queen to her imperial brother at Pekin, have really averted the war? Had the emperor shown any such remarkable deference for our royal autographs in times that are past, as to have encouraged a repetition of the experiment? But, was the ambassador, who conveyed the letter, to perform the *kowtow* or not,—that is the question! If he was instructed to do so; that is, if he was ordered to do that which all preceding ambassadors had refused to do, would not the arrogance of that supercilious cabinet have been sublimated to such a degree, as to have entirely neutralized the effect of the correspondence? If, on the contrary, he had not, would the letter have been noticed at all! Let us suppose, however, that the genuflections had been dispensed with; that the ambassador had been received with grace; and that the Chinese ministers had condescended to negotiate with him, how would he have disposed of the opium question? It must be borne in mind, that he would have reached Peking just at the time when this question had acquired a most intense interest: when the cabinet was eagerly engaged in devising ways and means to arrest the importation of opium. The very first demand made of him would undoubtedly have been, that the queen of England should *prevent* all farther introduction of the drug into China; and when the minister plenipotentiary was forced to acknowledge that such a measure was beyond the power of his sovereign, would not the embassy have been brought to an abrupt and disgraceful termination? and would not our position in China have been rendered more precarious and humiliating than ever?

"*Fourthly:* 'the ministry neglected to furnish the superintendent at Canton, with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium.' But the opium monopoly is under the safeguard of an act of parliament. When the question of the new charter was discussed in 1832, it was the parliament of Great Britain, king, lords and commons, who, knowing that the article was contraband by the laws of China, directed that it should be grown exclusively by the government of India, expressly for shipment to Canton; upon the plea, that a million sterling of annual revenue would thus be obtained from foreigners; and this provision was made with the advice, in special committee, of lord Sandon, sir James Graham, and others, who are now loud in denouncing the opium trade. Is it fair, is it honorable to charge upon the ministry, the mischievous consequences of a trade, which parliament had thus fostered and encouraged? If anything like a tangible idea can be extracted from the generalities of the resolution, it is this, that the ministry should have intrusted capt. Elliot with power to suppress the opium traffic; that is, to seize and confiscate vessels bearing parliamentary opium to China, in order that they might bring back a return cargo of Indian revenue. Supposing capt. Elliot had done so, and had endeavored to preserve peace with the Chinese, by cutting off the million sterling of revenue which parliament had settled for twenty years on the East India

Company, would he not have been liable to a prosecution? It is in vain that these efforts are made to cast the mischiefs which have grown out of this traffic on the shoulders of the ministry. The sin lies at the door of the honorable Company and Parliament.

"*Lastly;* the ministry is charged generally with a want of precaution and foresight. But could the whigs, could the tories, could any one in England, or even in China, have foreseen the disastrous events of March, 1839; the confinement of the British minister; the detention of all the foreign merchants; the seizure of the opium, and all the calamities which followed? If the mind had not been blinded by party zeal, it would have been self-evident, that the most farseeing statesman could not have anticipated these events without supernatural aid, so suddenly, so unexpectedly did they follow each other. With equal justice might the government of Calcutta, in 1756, have been considered guilty, in not foreseeing the sudden resolution of the nabob; his march to Calcutta; the sack of the town; and the tragedy of the Black Hole. It was well known that the opium question had engaged the most serious attention of the Chinese cabinet; that all the great ministers of state at the metropolis, and in the country, had been commanded to send in their opinions; and that those opinions were contradictory; some advising severer measures; others counseling that the trade, as a necessary evil, should be legalized. The imperial mind wavered; nay, it was generally reported that his majesty was rather inclined to admit the opium on the payment of duty; and well do we remember how high the hearts of the opium merchants in Calcutta beat at the time, the golden prospect thus opened to them. Suddenly, at the beginning of the past year, the resolution was taken to make one more effort, one last, dying effort, to remove the evil; and Lin, the governor of Hookwang, was selected as the instrument for putting the plan in execution. The emperor issued a proclamation to his subjects, stating that his 'own peace of mind' required that the practice should be stopped. On the 31st December, 1838, the commission was issued to Lin, to proceed posthaste to Canton, invested with the power and seals of an imperial envoy, to carry the imperial will into execution. He arrived at Canton, on the 10th of March; on the 27th, Capt. Elliot was a prisoner in his hands, and twenty thousand chests of opium had been extorted. Could these measures have been foreseen? And is it not the merest spirit of faction, which condemns men for not having provided against that which no man could have foreseen?

"We rejoice to find that *all* the speakers on both sides the House condemned the opium traffic. When all were thus agreed in fixing upon this disastrous trade, as the occasion of this war, why was there not one man found with moral courage enough to propose that Parliament should cut off all future occasion of war, as far as lay in its power, by rescinding that part of its former act, which identified the growth and trade in opium with the resources of India?"

ART. II. *Account of two festivals given to the old men of China by the emperors Kaughe and Keënlung.*

OLD age generally is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar reverence, but the deference paid is more respectful towards an aged man than an aged woman. The young are taught habitually to do them honor, and by the moral code of Confucius, and the law of public opinion, they can exact certain tokens of respect from their juniors. This feature of Chinese society is highly commendable and worthy of imitation, by which those who have exceeded the usual limit of life are honored among their fellowmen, as they have also been distinguished by the Preserver of their days. The two festivals given in honor of the patriarchs of the empire, of which we here give some account, could only have taken place in China, whose civil polity is theoretically an imitation of the domestic circle, where the emperor is the father of his people, and his ministers their older brothers. Legal provision is made for the relief of old persons; but we have no other data than the imperfect table here quoted to show how much aid is actually afforded. By the LXXXIXth section of the Penal Code it is ordered that, "All poor destitute widowers, the fatherless and childless, the helpless and infirm, shall receive sufficient maintenance and protection from the magistrates of their native city or district, whenever they have neither relations nor connections upon whom they can depend for support.—Any magistrate refusing such maintenance and protection, shall be punished with 60 blows. Also, when any such are maintained and protected by government, the superintending magistrate and his subordinates, if failing to afford them the legal allowance of food and raiment, shall be punished in proportion to the amount of the deficiency, according to the law against an embezzlement of governmental stores."*

The XXIIId section makes an exception in favor of the aged and infirm: "Whoever is ascertained to be aged or infirm at the period of trial for any offense, shall be allowed the benefit of such plea,

* "Agreeably to the tenor of this law, there are at Peking, and in other parts of China, certain establishments for the support and education of foundlings, and for the maintenance of the aged and destitute; but the sacred regard which is habitually paid by the Chinese to the claims of kindred, operates more effectually and extensively in the relief of the poor, (except in the seasons of scarcity and distress from accidental causes,) than almost any legal provision could be expected to do in so vast and populous an empire." *Note by translator*

although he may not have attained the full age, or labored under the alleged infirmity at the time the offense was committed."

The Asiatic Journal for Oct. 1826, notices an edict issued in the 27th year of the reign of Kanghe (1687), for regulating the aid given by government to people of the lower orders above 70 years of age. The septuagenarians were exempted from service, and had food allotted to them; those of 80 years had a piece of silk, a catty of cotton, a stone of rice, and ten catties of meat, those of 90, double the rest. The following table was drawn up at that time, showing the number who enjoyed the benefit of the edict.*

Provinces	70 *years and upwards.*	80 *years and upwards.*	90 *years and upwards.*	100 *years and upwards.*
Cheihle	—	11,111	535	0
Leaoutung	244	88	5	0
Kansŭh	41,991	9,043	250	0
Shantung	65,225	26,067	1,330	9
Honan	8,132	3,651	451	5
Keängnan	—	34,088	1,065	3
Chĕkeäng	—	21,866	982	0
Shanse	13,382	11,582	317	0
Hookwang	37,354	25,544	2,850	4
Keängse	—	7,190	580	0
Kwangtung	17,369	9,415	591	0
Kwangse	—	489	114	0
Fuhkeen	10,213	5,232	369	0
Szechuen	176	99	13	0
Kweichow	—	749	94	0
Yunnan	—	3,618	450	0
Total	184,086	169,850	9,996	21

The feast given to the old men of the empire by the emperor Kanghe took place in 1722, the sixtieth year of his reign, after the complete revolution of a cycle. "The emperor, my grandfather," says Keenlung when speaking of the similar festival given by him,

* Sharon Turner (Sacred History of the World, vol. 3, page 222,) speaks in high terms of the "wisdom of the Chinese government in giving this public liberality to the extreme sections of old age." He enters into some calculations deduced from this identical table concerning the proportion of old persons in China, which tend to give an exceedingly erroneous view of the longevity of the Chinese; indeed we can hardly account for his own belief in speculations founded on such data. By this table, in the province of Hookwang, there were 37,354 indigent and old persons, 70 years old and upwards, supported out of a population of 26,256,784; while in Szechuen, there were only 176 persons of the same age supported in a population of 21,435,678. The extraordinary part of it is that Mr. Turner considers these returns of the indigent poor supported by government as those of the whole population, and infers from thence that only one individual in 818 among the Chinese reaches the age of 70 years, while probably not one third of the octogenarians derived any support from government, as its actual bestowal depends very much upon the disposition of the local magistrates.

"reaching the sixtieth year of his glorious reign, wished to render it memorable in the chronicles of the empire, by some distinguished action which should at the same time manifest his tenderness towards his subjects. He summoned an assembly of old men selected from the different orders of state, and in his palace gave them a solemn feast at which he himself presided. This ceremony, in the incident of its being in the sixtieth year of a reign, had never before occurred; at least it is not spoken of in history, nor in any other book which has come to my knowledge. Heaven reserved the first honor for my family. My grandfather in order to unite the majesty of the throne with the simplicity of the father of a family, desired all the princes, grandees, and high ministers to assist at it in court dresses, with all the display of the highest ceremonial. Those of his sons and grandsons who were still infants, were, by his orders, brought to the place, that they might enjoy, with others, the sight of so many venerable old men, and thus accustom them betimes to those obligations imposed by humanity towards the aged. I was then twelve years old; I saw all that was done, and how it was done. Those who were 90 years old and upwards, received their presents from the emperor's own hands; the less aged received their's from officers charged with this duty. Since that time, there is an interval of sixty-four years."

It was with a view of commemorating the remarkable length of his own reign, that Keënlung determined to convene a similar assembly in the 75th year of his age, and 50th of his reign. An account of this unique assembly by an eye-witness is contained in a letter written by M. Amiot, dated the 15th of October, 1785, from which we abridge it.

"Towards the end of last year, the report was already spread throughout the empire to seek out honorable old men, on whom the emperor, himself an old man, might bestow his benefits. It was moreover announced to the officers, their promotion to more elevated rank; to literary men, their admission to the examination for literary degrees, and an increase in the number of those to be admitted; to military men, rewards proportioned to their length of service, and a bounty in money; to the common people an exemption from taxes and other onerous burdens; and to criminals, an absolute pardon for some, and an alleviation of punishment to those who could not be pardoned.

"Never had the old men been in such request; it seemed as if the emperor was only anxious to prolong their existence on earth, and consult their ease: and the good people themselves were so excited

that they forgot all the little infirmities which had previously been their constant plaint, that they might manifest such satisfaction and joy as if they had been in the best of health. One might see some of them in the streets and markets, affecting to walk with a vigor and strength, which a crooked back, a shaking head, and tottering feet, belied in spite of them. The special kindness, with which they thought themselves to be honored by their sovereign, was as a balm shedding new energies of life through their blood. And indeed, the emperor, on his part did all he could to preserve this pleasant illusion; he multiplied orders and exhortations in their favor to those grandees and officers who have the inspection of the people. 'Search out,' said he to them in a mandate inserted in the Gazette, 'inform yourselves exactly of all those families in which are found men to whom heaven has granted a course beyond the ordinary age of man. Make me acquainted with the result of your researches, and without waiting for new orders from me, begin to make, in my name and at my expense, bounties to the old men of the villages and hamlets in your respective districts as follows. To those who have passed 60 years, give five bushels of rice and a piece of linen; to the octogenarians, ten bushels of rice and two pieces of linen; to those of 90 years, thirty bushels of rice and two pieces of cheap silk; and the centenarians, fifty bushels of rice, and a piece of both fine and common silk. Moreover, I exempt the whole empire from all taxes during the year that is now began. As for the Mantchous, I will myself give them the gifts designed for them."

"In addition to this edict in favor of the people, his majesty also added another for the literati, which was inserted in the Gazette. 'In the choice made of scholars to fill the different posts which are their jurisdiction, both at court and in the provinces, we are compelled frequently to place those subjects who have not the knowledge and talents to perform worthily the trust confided to them, because none more talented are presented. I order the governors and other high officers of the provinces and cities of the empire, to inform themselves exactly throughout the different districts confided to them whether there be not some able scholars, whom a too great modesty, or want of patronage, has prevented their presenting themselves for promotion. In case such are found, it is my intention to place them in a position to employ their talents of whatever sort they may be. I command the said governors and other officers to send here at my charge all scholars of acknowledged merit who may come to their knowledge. I shall not fail to distribute them according to their abilities whenever occasion offers.'

"Keenlung also ordered his officers to search among his own clan for those persons who had seen their descendants to the sixth generation; they found two persons, who like his majesty, were descended in a direct line from the first princes of the dynasty. Significant titles were conferred upon these two individuals, meaning a 'bearer of happiness,' and the 'bearer of longevity.' His own great-great-grandson excited in his breast the tenderest emotions of pleasure for the uncommon privilege allowed him of being saluted a great-great-grandfather. This distinction was at that time enjoyed by a large number of his subjects. The officers of the provinces had reported that there were in the empire one hundred and ninety-two families of which the heads had seen their fifth generation, and that four of this number exceeded a century; it was remarked that all were found among people in easy circumstances. H. M. sent presents to these old men; and to the four centenarians in particular, congratulatory verses which he composed to their honor, and dispatched with much pomp to their abodes, allowing them the privilege of erecting a *pacloo*, or honorary portal, to inscribe the verses upon. His majesty also mentioned his intended fête to the messengers from Corea, who came at this juncture to have their new king acknowledged, and invited them to send two sexagenarians as deputies to grace it; but on hearing that six were coming he excused their attendance on account of the fatigue of the journey.

"At last the day fixed for this ceremony, a day announced so many times and desired by so many persons, arrived; it was the sixth day of the first moon of the 50th year of the reign of Keënlung, February 14th, 1785. Instead of one thousand old men, his majesty fixed the number at three thousand, because he wished to select from different classes of people that all his subjects might be represented, and consequently the whole nation. Some days before, tickets were distributed to each guest, on which was written his name and age, condition or his degree of official rank, and a note of the place where he would find the standard under which to range himself in the first hall of the palace.

"About 2 o'clock in the morning, the gates of the palace facing towards the east and west were opened, and the old men, who had been enjoined to be on the spot at least two hours before daybreak, entered by the gate nearest his residence in the city. I entered by the western gate with Messrs. Carne and Bourgeois; M. Espinha was among the grandees of his tribunal; we among those of the fifth rank. It was easy to find our place, for besides having our names written in

large characters on our lanterns, two inferior officers had been ordered to look after us, and inform us of all the duties we were to perform in the ceremonial of the day. These, seeing us in the crowd, intimated our arrival to the registrators, who were seated in an alcove, having a table before them, and who, as soon as they recognized us, proclaimed our names with a loud voice, to which we answered, *here!* The card of invitation was then handed in, and compared with the register, and as the two agreed exactly, our names were written, both in the register and on a separate card, as being among the guests. After this formality, which each guest observed as he entered, we waited tranquilly till day appeared. When I say that I waited tranquilly, you must know that I speak only of a tranquillity of soul, for a tranquillity of body was out of the question in an immense court, without seats and fire, in the cold season of the year, and after having been on our feet from midnight. At length, the dawn announced the approach of the sun, upon which, each one was requested to range himself under his own standard; for after his first appearance, each one had retired to make way for others, and in the spacious court, had formed themselves in little groups; those who were hale, rapidly walked up and down to keep their feet warm. The infirm were seated on simple cushions, with their legs crossed under them, endeavoring to drive off ennui by mutually recalling the history of past times, or by parading the names of long lists of their children and grand-children.

"We now, as at our arrival, arranged ourselves under our standard, where we answered as before, on having our names proclaimed, *here!* We observed several who did not answer until they had been called several times, and some even had gone; for there were many, who, relying upon their strength and wishing to enjoy the honor of eating with their sovereign, had exerted themselves to be at the palace, but not able to endure the fatigue of sitting so long, had been obliged to retire. The second roll-call being over, the old men were introduced into a court immediately before the emperor's apartments. This is also of an immense extent, but only about ten feet high; it is used as a court, garden, or temple, according to the season of the year. It is always guarded by princes of the blood, or grandees of the first order. Elevated many feet above the area of the court, an open gallery, fifteen or twenty feet wide by about two hundred long, adorned on each side by a balustrade of white marble, leads to his majesty's apartments. We were placed on one of these, under the officer assigned to us, where we enjoyed an excellent opportunity of seeing

the *holy face*, as it is here expressed, and all that passed before him.

"At last, the hour of repast arrived, which in the palace is usually 8 or 9 o'clock A. M., after his majesty has given audience to the presidents of the tribunals, and they have received his orders. At the third blow of the gong, all arose as the emperor appeared and took his place under the portico before his private room, when he found himself at the head of the guests, extended in two parallel lines along the gallery from the portico to the door of entrance, in such a position, aided by the elevation of the throne, that he saw and could be seen by all present. He was attended by such of his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons as were able to assist at the ceremony. Princes of the blood were there to wait on him, and grandees of the realm to wait on the old men. As soon as he had taken his place, the guests were invited to take theirs by squatting upon a carpet spread on the ground. One small table accommodated every four persons. As the music struck up, the tables were covered with as many dishes as they could contain; the dish of honor, which nearly filled the table, was a saddle of mutton from Tartary, accompanied with many other viands which I did not recognize; it was placed on a heater to prevent its cooling; and the cooked messes floated in a kind of excellent sauce of the country, which the old men greedily swallowed as a broth. Besides the chief dish, there were two or three others covered with cold meats, as ducks, fowl, pork, &c., all which however could not tempt my appetite; and I breakfasted on some little boiled wheaten cakes, of which there were an abundance. The officers near by rid us of the remainder, for his majesty desired at the end of the repast to see all the plates empty. Whenever any of the old men took wine with the emperor, the attendants filled their cups with the same kind that he drank; nor did the messes upon his majesty's table differ from those which covered their own.

"During the feast, which lasted about an hour, the sons and grandsons of the emperor went around among the guests to see that nothing was wanting, and exhort them to enjoy without restraint the satisfaction which their good master experienced in seeing them assembled before him. His majesty's eldest son, by his quickness and all his actions, acquitted himself very well in overseeing all; one would have said he was the butler of a hotel, who endeavored, for the honor of his master, to make every body satisfied. This amiable prince did us the honor to stop a moment before our table, and intreat us to eat and drink as much as we wished.

"When the emperor had eaten, a blow of the gong was heard, the music ceased, and the attendants cleared the tables, that is, removed the chafing-dish and the plates, saying to each guest, that his majesty wished him to carry away the cup which he had used on the occasion, desiring him, whenever it was used, which he hoped would be for a long time to come, to remember all he had seen that day. This cup was simply a common porcelain goblet, but in their eyes, coming from the hand it did, it was more precious than a golden vase would have been coming from another.

"On hearing a second blow of the gong, each one composed himself in his seat, facing the emperor: a third blow, and a dozen actors appeared, each of whom had a double mask, or rather two masks, one on the face, and one behind the head, so that they might appear never to turn their back to the throne, or to the guests. One of the masks represented a graybeard, another a young man, a third a child, and one of middle age, with dresses corresponding, that is, without any back to them. Each had something in his hand, but I could only distinguish the staves of the old men; after saluting the assembly, they commenced playing. As well as I could judge by observation, it was a kind of ballet, representing the different ages of life, and the revolution of years. I had a strong desire to hear what they said, but their distance, and the din of the music, drowned their voices. After exhibiting about half an hour, they retired, and the musicians took their places. These were all eunuchs of the palace, and although I could hear their shrill and sonorous voices, I could not distinguish the words; they however sang a canticle or hymn in honor of Teën, to render thanks for the benefits of the day.

"When the hymn was finished, the emperor immediately arose and retired to his own apartments, and the doors of the hall were thrown open. The old men were then invited to rest themselves in the adjoining court until each was called to receive the presents his majesty had set apart for him. It was at this last stage of the ceremony that the poor old men had need of all their patiénce. Each one must await his turn; and as his majesty could not himself hand out the presents to three thousand persons without great fatigue, he contented himself with conferring this honor upon the princes and some of the highest statesmen, and deputed his ministers to bestow the rest in his name. The greatest care was taken, by means of tickets and sealed lists, to insure to each one his share, but in spite of all precautions it is said the eunuchs and lower officers contrived to enrich themselves, though more probably from the imperial warehouses

than by subtracting from individual portions. To avoid all confusion in the distribution, the presents had been ranged on tables according to the order of those who were to receive them. Before each table stood an attendant with a list of the presents and the names of the receivers, the articles being tied with a yellow cord, and inscribed with his name. As this distribution was looked upon as being made in the imperial presence itself, it was done in the hall next his own room. At the door, stood a household officer holding the same list, who introduced the old men one after another in parties of four or six. When they came before the distributing officers, they received in their hands, as their names were called, the presents destined for them, performed the *kotow* before the door of his majesty's apartment, and retired to make room for others. It is needless to observe that a distribution thus made to three thousand persons must require so long a time as to excessively fatigue those old men who must wait in the outer court till their turn arrived. Three entire days scarcely sufficed for the whole, and during this time, all those who had not been served must report themselves each day at early dawn in the court, and not go out till evening. Happily for us our turn came about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the first day.

"The presents distributed on this occasion consisted of small purses embroidered with gold and silver, pieces of silk of different qualities, an emblematic sceptre made of odoriferous wood, and ornamented with little figures of jade called *yu-e*, and a staff of cedar with a dragon's head, which had however more the appearance of a crosier than the staff of an old man; and lastly above all the others, the badge of the order of advanced age, which is the character *chow* 壽 or longevity. This character is made of silver weighing about an ounce, attached by a cord of yellow silk with an appropriate knot. To them all was added the gift of a few verses composed by the emperor in commemoration of this august ceremony, of which the following is the substance.

"'To those venerable old men invited to the solemn festival to enjoy themselves with me in memory of that which was formerly done by my august grandfather on a similar occasion.

"'The benefits which I have received from heaven are numberless, it is impossible for me to enumerate them. That which I have enjoyed this day in beholding so many venerable old men assembled in one place fills my whole mind. My thoughts revert to the time past, and recall that happy age when my locks, sole ornament of my head, flowed loose upon my front I then had no anxiety; I profited

by the inestimable privilege of sitting at the feet of my august grandfather while he was seated on the throne. I saw all; I heard all; I was witness of all that transpired around him How many years, alas! have fled, since that time.

"'Of all the spectacles which have excited my eager regards in an age where everything has interested me, the memorable fête that I have enjoyed this day has affected me the most pleasurably. Yes, it is with sweet emotion that I recall this precious remembrance; a sentiment of respect mingled with tenderness filled my heart, when I saw the princes and grandees enter the hall of festivity, take their places by their master's side to wait on him, and be waited on, and in the same manner all the old men. The same dishes, the same wine, were alike for all. All were served at the same time, and with the same abundance; the goblets were emptied and refilled without restraint. No distinction of rank existed, all things were equal among the guests; it was an assembly of friends, who refreshed themselves together from similar motives of gladness and joy; a glowing color warmed their countenances! the fire of youth seemed again to glisten in their eyes!

"'This is the second time that, by the special favor of heaven I enjoy the same spectacle with the same overflowings of heart. Our descendants will no doubt be filled with sentiments of the most tender veneration when they read in history that two emperors of my august family, the grandfather and grandson, have celebrated, the one the sixtieth, and the other the fiftieth, year of their particular reigns, by enjoying themselves in social repast with the entire nation represented by the elite of its old men

"'With my own pencil."

Keenlung, 50th year, 1st moon, 1st decade. (Feb. 4th, 1785.)

ART III. *Portfolio Chinensis: or a collection of authentic Chinese state papers, illustrative of the history and present position of affairs in China; with a translation, notes and introduction, by J. Lewis Shuck. Macao, China. Printed for the translator, at the New Washington press of F. F. De Cruz*, 1840. *pp.* 191.

EVERY addition to our works on China will be looked for with interest, at a time when, as now, the foreign relations of this empire

are engaging the attention of western governments. The little volume before us—unpretending as it is—possesses so much intrinsic value, is in a form so neat and convenient, and is procurable at a rate so moderate, that we recommend it to all those who have any desire to study the language, and the character of the Chinese. It comprises eight papers: the 1st relates to the internal policy of the country; the 2d, to opium depôts; the 3d demands the surrender of opium from foreigners; the 4th advances four reasons for that surrender; the 5th decrees the abrogation for ever of English commerce with China; the 6th is Lin's letter to the queen; the 7th contains Wangyen's recommendation for ending all communication and intercourse with foreigners; and the 8th offers rewards for the seizure of British subjects, living or dead. The introduction gives a brief account of the poppy, preparation and use of the drug, its importation into China, with an epitome of the efforts made for its suppression in 1839. The object of the book will be best understood from the preface.

"Those important Russian state papers made public by Mr. Urquhart, and printed by Ridgway and Sons, London, were published in monthly numbers under the title of "Portfolio:" hence the origin of the application of the term in the present instance. The designs of the Chinese government are usually made known beforehand by public proclamations, written (and sometimes printed) in very large and legible characters, and pasted up at all the most frequented thoroughfares, stamped with the red seals of the high officers who issue them.

"The following translations are some of the results of portions of legitimate missionary study. The papers were regarded as worthy of being preserved, not only as illustrative, in some degree, of the language and literature of a confessedly vast portion of the human family, but as being the productions of the highest statesmen of the empire, and upon a subject too, at present, so thrillingly interesting to the whole internal and foreign policy of the nation. Thinking that there would possibly be others also who might be desirous of possessing, in a collected form, both the original and a translation, we have been induced, without any higher pretensions, to afford them the opportunity of so doing. The volume could have been swelled to any reasonable size, but the present limits comprise all the objects originally intended. Upon the character of the papers we make no comment, leaving them to speak for themselves, and to make their own impression upon the minds of all those who choose to wade through them.

"The translations here given are professedly independent, although translations of the last five were published in the local periodicals at the time of their first appearance. The assistance of others, whenever inclination prompted, has been unhesitatingly availed of. The translations throughout profess to be mainly literal, and therefore may perhaps afford some aid to the partially advanced student of Chinese, who will find it to his advantage to pay some attention to this class of Chinese composition. The volume may in one sense be regarded as an elementary book for beginners. The notes were designed only for those who

were not previously acquainted with the points which they (the notes) attempt to explain. The small figures in the page refer to the notes at the end. The introduction (in the preparation of which authentic sources were consulted,) will not be considered inappropriate to the subjects of which the documents treat. Logical arrangement and concatenation of thought are rarely found in Chinese compositions.

"But little difficulty was found in working in the English metallic types with the Chinese wooden blocks: indeed the principle is the same precisely as that adopted with the wood-cuts employed in embellishing books printed in the English and other languages. and technically called xylography. The paper is Chinese, and the best quality to be procured. The English types are entirely new, and this the first time they have been used. Pains have been taken to secure accuracy and neatness in execution, still great allowances must be made for the vast inconveniences at present unavoidably attending the publication of books in these ends of the earth. In portions of some of the copies, some typographical errors exist, but no list is made of them, in the hope, as they are unimportant, that they may not be noticed. All the Chinese sounds given are in the mandarin or court dialect, and according to Dr. Morrison's orthography. The Chinese perpendicular method of reading is adhered to, although, to accommodate it to the translation, the original is made to read from the left instead of the right side of the page, which latter is the usual manner of all native books. The pointing in the text was done by a good native teacher, but other teachers equally good, would possibly have placed the points somewhat differently, yet not so as materially to affect the sense. A variety of literary opinions is found to exist on the subject among the reading portion of the Chinese. Some of the points, as well as some of the characters, have been carelessly altered by the block-cutter. The appendix contains a very recent, and certainly a very uncommon document.

"The work is put forth with much diffidence, and with no sanguine expectations of public patronage.—All indulgences exercised towards acknowledged imperfections will not be lightly esteemed: nor is any defiance offered to the critic's pen."

Translations of all the eight papers have been published in the Repository, except the first one, which, when our limits will permit, shall be transferred to our own pages. With regard to the "arrangement and concatenation of thought," in Chinese state papers, we have been accustomed to entertain a different view from that expressed above We have been accustomed to consider "Chinese compositions," such as the memorials of Heu Kew, Choo Tsun, Keshen, the reports from the provincial authorities, the essays of candidates for high literary honors, &c., as affording some fine specimens of logical arrangement. Often, however, in our translations this method is almost entirely set at naught. By those who prefer Latin terms Portfolio *Sinensis* perhaps would be preferred to P. Chinensis. We here introduce commissioner Lin's introduction to his paper on "the internal policy of the country," but the principal part of that document must be reserved for another number.

LIN, high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the provinces of Hookwang, makes most fully known his commands for the speedy cutting off of the opium, in order that life may be preserved, and the punishment of death avoided. It appears that Kwangtung has become a territory highly conspicuous for literature, and from days of yore until the present time, there have been, in every successive generation, men of highest eminence, famed for letters, and renowned for their statesman like character. Those who heard this, could not suppress their esteem, and none would have thought, that within these late years, so great a number would have been submerged in the fumes of opium! Spreading all along these maritime regions, the infection has, from thence, flowed throughout the empire; and were you to trace the cause, it would be like the commencement of making images. And were we to push our investigations to the fullest extent (of the evil), we should find that opium constitutes the common sink of almost all iniquity! All those in every province who deal in opium, do not say that they purchase it from Canton, but they say, that the Canton men, by smuggling, introduce it; and the smokers of the drug do not say that they imbibed this habit from Canton, but they do say that the people of Canton have seduced them, and are consequently the cause of it. Thus heedlessly does this famed region rush on without a struggle! How can this but be lamentable! Formerly, punishment was not very severe, nor were examination and seizure strictly enforced; and consequently shameless smugglers take their ease, and are utterly indifferent. But now the thundering wrath of the celestial majesty has been aroused, the ax of the executioner is whetted, and the existing laws must be enforced to their extremity, awarding death to all the guilty. For my object decidedly is to sweep the evil away, clean and entire, and afterwards I will cease my exertions. I, the great minister, have been summoned from the provinces of Tso to repair to the capital, there to receive instructions in person. Plans and arrangements were devised, and the seals of high imperial commissioner were intrusted to me to proceed to this place to institute investigations as you all must have heard and understood. Let me ask whether the opium prohibitions have hitherto been thus strictly rigorous? And can you still cherish delusive hopes of there being any relaxation? I, the great minister, have received the powers of imperial commissioner, but of which, were the matter not most weighty, there would be no need. And now having received my credentials by a special decree, will not this enable me to accomplish the business at once? I, the great minister, together with the governor and lieut.-governor, having, with trembling obedience, received the stern imperial decree, have now only to point to the heavens, and swear by the sun, that, with unabated energy, I shall exterminate the evil. The secret plans and deep-laid schemes for annoying those without (foreigners), and for giving peace to those within (natives), will not, by any means whatever, be arrested in the midst of their execution Besides continuing sternly

to seize those who hoard up the drug in order to sell it, and inflicting upon them immediate and heavy punishment, we moreover will bear in mind that the whole class of you opium smokers have long been overwhelmed in its depths, and we will not suffer ourselves to put you to death without first instructing you, and specially and most heartily do we previously lay our arguments open for your consideration. Now there are persons who do not eat an article themselves, yet cause others to do it, while they themselves would not expend a copper for it. Nor is there a wayfaring person who would pick it up, nor a beggar even who would not disdainfully reject it. Furthermore, although the opium exists among the outside barbarians, there is not a man of them who is willing to smoke it himself; but the natives of the flowery land are, on the contrary, with willing hearts, led astray by them; and they exhaust their property, and brave the prohibitions, by purchasing a commodity which inflicts injury upon their own vitals. To such an extent has the stupidity of our people reached! It is like the smelling-stuffs of thieves and robbers, the stupefying medicines of kidnappers, and the poisonous drugs of sorcerers, all used by them in order to seize upon the property, and destroy the lives of individuals. The present evil of opium is thus extreme in its nature! Now your property is the means by which you support life, and your specie, which is by no means easily to be obtained, you take and exchange for dirt. Is not this supremely ridiculous! And that you part with your money to poison your ownselves, is it not deeply lamentable! You do not even reflect that, during those seasons of opium torpor, if daring robbers, cherishing deepest enmity, and having murderous knives and lighted torches, were to enter your presence, your ability to stay the hand of the enemy would only be to listen to what they were doing without effecting anything!

You have been brought up on the seaboard, and differ from those of the interior, and it is decidedly requisite that you be thoughtful and upon your guard. But how is it that you allow men to befool you? Being careless of life, and regardless of your ownselves and that of your family, matters have reached their present crisis. Thus the fish covets the bait, and forgets the hook: the miller-fly covets the candle-light, but forgets the fire; and the orang-outang, in his inordinate desires for the wine, thinks not of the desires of men for his blood. These creatures bring misfortunes upon themselves. Is not this egregiously strange? Habits which are thus disastrous are unchangeable, being like the successive rolling of the waves of the sea. Thus all persons indiscriminately are brought low, and every family too is impoverished! Ye people of these regions, why is it that you cherish no apprehensions? Gentlemen in their respective native places, ought to instruct the populace, and become examples to all around them. How can they bear negligently to sit down at their ease, and not put forth a single effort of the hand to save the people? And scholars, who ought to take the lead among the four classes of the people, when once their actions are immersed in this evil, become

straightway useless commodities. If these do not, with a painful sense of error, change their habits, what use has the court for such a class of personages? To employ them would only be to render the clear river King turgid by the river Wei; or like odoriferous plants rendered offensive by those which are noxious. There is high probability of drawing upon you the sacred displeasure, so that the whole of you may be regarded as having thrown away your qualifications. It is to be feared that throughout these provinces the road to scholarship and celebrity at the examinations is beset with vast obstacles, and at which we really grieve! As to the cottagers, although they are numerous, yet, among every ten families there must certainly be some who are upright and faithful, and who are able to bestow some attention upon their respective neighborhoods.

Hitherto, those who were found out and arrested by the soldiers and police, connected both with the literary and military offices, were originally not a few, and the people became alarmed during the searches made for prohibited goods.

And it then became, everywhere, a common topic of conversation, that this searching would give rise to injury, to seizures of property, connivance, falsehoods, bribes, and all similar abuses. It is really most difficult so to arrange it that this state of things shall not exist. Now if the soldiers be guilty of these abuses, against them the severities of the law shall be increased; and if the officers connive, still more must they be immediately denounced with rigor. If there really be individuals who have been unjustly accused, and the facts of the case be stated to the magistrates, it will be their duty to clear up the matter. But you must not leave off eating in consequence of a mere hiccough, nor cause those who are sent to examine and seize, to turn about and become remiss in their endeavors. Last year, when I, the great minister, was in Hookwang, on causing the seizure of each opium criminal, I first ordered all officers in charge of soldiers and police-runners, that they themselves should strictly search their soldiers, and having examined, made the seizures, and come out of the doors, I further ordered my officers to search them (the soldiers) again, and not allow the articles of the people to be carried off. And I have at present also given general orders to act accordingly. Besides publishing ten regulations, and devising remedies of every description for the doing away of this crying evil, and throughout the various regions dispatching the rigouros prohibitions of this edict, I moreover hasten to issue this proclamation, that my commands may be fully known: and I hereby address myself to the literati, merchants, military, and common people throughout these provinces that they may thoroughly understand. All of you who, formerly, were unwittingly betrayed into the use of opium, should immediately and energetically seek to break it off, and, with deep feelings of repentance, alter your former evil course. The term assigned those of you at the provincial city, shall begin with the second moon, and terminate with the end of the third; and to those in the various foo, chow, and heen, the limit shall be two months

from the day of the reception of this dispatch. It is therefore requisite that you take the several opium pipes with the smoking bowls which you have in your possession, every description of smoking implements, no matter how many, and your remaining drug, no matter how much; the whole carefullý collect together, and proceed to the local officers and deliver them up. You can yourselves surrender the above, and it will also be allowed to your fathers, brothers, neighbors, relations, or friends, as the case may be, to make the surrender for you. As it is only desired to establish some fixed period in which you may reform and abstain, we will make no inquiries whatever as to how the things come, nor will surnames and names be asked. But you will not be allowed, with new pipes and false opium, sneakingly and confusedly to hush the matter up, which will heavily increase your guilt. You should consider that it is of the first importance in cutting off this base habit, that you have a heart to do it.

Last year, I saw a native of Hookwang who was addicted to this vice for thirty years. During the space of a single day, he would smoke one tael of the drug, yet he determinately broke off and abandoned the habit, after which his countenance soon regained its proper color, he became fleshy, and his muscular powers were restored. As often as this is tried, so often will it be successful. And why is it, that in the other provinces every body can cut off this habit, and yet in Kwangtung, on the contrary, no means can be devised for its extermination? It is said that in these regions there are pestiferous exhalations, the injurious effects of which can be entirely avoided by the use of betul-nut and dried tobacco; and to abridge your expenditures for something which is exactly suitable to your mouths, and which furthermore does not violate the prohibitory regulations, why not therefore exchange that (opium) for these? After this proclamation has been promulged if you still continue pertinaciously stupid and arouse not, conceal your implements and not surrender them, then this will be trifling with the laws, and flagrantly disobedient, and we have only to wait for an examination of the tablets of the constables, and hold them responsible for denouncing you. When we proceed rigorously to make secret search, and to seize, to all of you who have smoked opium, every place alike will be an execution ground, dangers every moment will surround you, and to be fortunate enough to be able to screen yourselves will be found to be utterly impracticable. As to the establishments where the drug is prepared, and also those where it had been smoked, their excellencies the governor and lieutenant-governor have frequently instituted investigations, made seizures, and inflicted punishments: and many of those sinks have been shut up. But this lasts only for a short time, because the official prohibitions are not of long duration, and who is it that understands that the present is not to be compared to the times which are past? for until I have swept clean I shall cease not my exertions. Those who shall hoard up the vaporous drug with the expectation of waiting until examination and seizure become less strict, and as formerly to sell it off by stealth, render themselves

the more detestable. We have at present trusty spies whom we shall distribute about, and as soon as, by examination, they obtain correct information, we shall at once proceed to rigorous investigations. Those who are arrested shall receive the severest penalties of the laws, and those who point out the guilty for arrest shall be most liberally rewarded; while those houses where the drug may have been secreted shall be entirely confiscated. As to all of you who are persons of small property, what is the reason why you cannot seek your own interests? If, as on former occasions, you deal in the smoking-earth by mistake, or should it be hoarded up in your dwellings, you yourselves should immediately hasten to give information to the magistrates, who will according to the state of the case lessen the penalties. I, the great minister, having now already entered these regions, I shall be benevolent beyond the laws, yet on no account will I be able to delay my measures. If you do not avail yourselves of this moment, arouse your sensibilities and carefully reform, afterwards, although you may desire a reformation of your habits, you will find yourselves unable to effect it. The destiny of yourselves and that of your families, as well as life and death, and misery and happiness, are consequences which are intimately concerned in this matter. Let each therefore be tremblingly alive to these important facts, and entail not upon yourselves after repentance. A special proclamation.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d moon, and 1st day. (March 15th, 1839.)

ART. IV. *Biographical Notice of Szema Kwang, a Chinese historian, and minister of state.* Translated for the Repository from the French of Rémusat.

SZEMA KWANG, a statesman and one of the most celebrated historians of China, was born in the district of Shan, of the department of Heä, in the province of Shense, about the year A. D. 1018. He was the second son of Szema Che, one of the ministers of the emperor Jin-tsung of the Sung dynasty, and believed to be of the same family with Szema Tseën, who is regarded as the father of history in China.

We cannot always rely upon the early indications of talent or penetration given by young children. We often see juvenile prodigies of wit and intelligence make very ordinary men; but we may count with more certainty on a satisfactory result where the actions of the child indicate good sense, sound judgment, and the power of reflection. The following anecdote is told of the early childhood of Szema

Kwang. He was standing, with several companions, by the side of one of those large porcelain vases in which the Chinese, to amuse themselves, rear gold fish. One of the children fell into the vase, and was in great danger of drowning. The others, terrified, took to flight, with the exception of the young Kwang, who seeking around for a stone made use of it to break the vase, and let the water flow out. By this expedient, which might not have suggested itself to a person of riper years, he saved the life of his companion. The poets often allude to this story, and it is frequently represented in Chinese paintings.

The father of Kwang, persuaded that so good an understanding was worthy of his care, took great pains to cultivate these happy dispositions. Having taught his son a large number of characters, he put into his hands, at the age of seven years, the Chun Tsew, or History of the Kingdom of Loo, written by Confucius. The reading of this book was so well adapted to the precocious genius of young Kwang, that he hastened to the women's apartment to recite his first lessons, which he did with an accuracy and precision considered as indicative of a decided talent for historical literature.

From that time, Kwang devoted himself to study with a zeal and assiduity which amounted to a passion. He renounced all amusements, was never seen without a book in his hand, and at night, that he might awake the more readily, he rested his head on a billet of wood. As he grew up, he avoided all those social connections, of which, say the Chinese, the least evil is the great loss of time they occasion; he took no pleasure but in the company of learned men, and always returned with eagerness to his studies; at an early age he knew the Classics by heart, and could explain their most difficult passages, whilst his memory retained the dates of all events, and the details of even the least important facts.

In 1037, he obtained the highest of the literary degrees, and his modesty, on this occasion, was no less conspicuous than his talents. He was then, without his own solicitation, and almost in spite of himself, promoted to various offices. It is a common opinion in China, that a man of letters is competent to all things, and that he who has a thorough understanding of the writings of the ancients must, by a necessary consequence, make an upright magistrate, an able minister, and an excellent soldier. Imbued, like most of his countrymen, with this idea, a general named Pangtse, commanding the troops who guarded the western frontiers of the empire against the Tungoosians, thought he could not do better than secure the assis-

tance of a young scholar whose reputation was beginning to be known. He therefore petitioned the emperor that Szema Kwang might be named governor of Ping chow, a very important place situated in the province which was the theatre of his own operations. In taking possession of this new post, Kwang gave his whole attention to the situation of the country, the administration of which had been in part confided to him; and to deliver it from one of its greatest afflictions, the incursions of the Tungousians, he proposed a plan to the general which was adopted. This plan consisted in building three new towns on the banks of the Yellow river, to be inhabited by the superabundant population of the neighboring territories in order to give these people an interest in the defense of the newly constructed cities.

These measures were wholly unsuccessful. The Tungousians attracted by the very precautions taken against them, invaded the new towns, and carried off much booty with many captives. When this disaster reached the ears of the emperor, he recalled the general, upon whom rested the responsibility of the plan, and ordered that he should be put upon his trial. But Szema Kwang was incapable of permitting another man to suffer for the consequences of his inexperience. He wrote to the emperor to acknowledge his fault. "I, said he, am the cause of all these misfortunes. I am the guilty person. I am worthy of punishment, but let the innocent man not suffer." The emperor was willing to show mercy, and extended his forgiveness to the two friends. Szema Kwang was promoted to the government of the capital of Honan, and became afterwards one of the censors and historical secretaries of the palace.

In all these offices, he gave proof of great wisdom, extensive knowledge, and the most perfect disinterestedness. Some southern people had sent the emperor an animal of an unknown kind, and his flatterers pretended that this animal was no other than the kelin, a species of unicorn, a wonderful creature, which, according to the Chinese, appears only in times of great prosperity, when the empire is flourishing under the government of a wise prince. Szema Kwang, being consulted by order of the emperor, replied; "I have never seen the kelin, therefore I cannot tell whether this be one or not. What I do know is that the real kelin could never be brought hither by foreigners: he appears of himself when the state is well governed."

There was a boldness in this reply startling to all the parties concerned; and it was the same, on another occasion which occurred about the year 1061, after an eclipse of the sun. This eclipse, according to the prediction of the astronomers, was to be of a certain

number of digits: it was less than they foretold. The courtiers came with much ceremony to congratulate the emperor on what they called a departure from the laws regulating the movements of the heavenly bodies, granted in honor of the wisdom and justice of his government. Szema Kwang who was present, interrupted them. "The first duty of a censor, said he, is to tell the truth. What your majesty has just heard is dictated by base flattery, or is the result of disgraceful ignorance. The eclipse has been less than the astronomers predicted. This presages neither good nor evil, nor is there any reason for congratulation. The astronomers were mistaken, and if their mistake proceeded from negligence, they should be punished for it. It is however truly a bad omen to see, around the emperor's person, men who dare to speak in the way I have just heard, and that your majesty should condescend to listen to them."

Such bold language both disconcerted the courtiers, and terrified the friends of Szema Kwang. The emperor, however, was not displeased, and throughout his reign continued to honor Szema Kwang with his favor. The wise minister made use of it to enlighten the monarch, and give him a proper understanding of the truth in all the most important affairs of the state. He continued to exercise his noble and dangerous functions under the empress-dowager, regent during the minority of Jintsung's successor, and under that emperor himself, who is known in history by the name of Yingtsung. He was not the son but the nephew of his predecessor. Upon his accession to the throne he thought proper to show his respect to his own father by solemnly giving him the title and paying supreme honors. Szema Kwang did not approve of this measure. He thought it an infraction of the laws of adoption, according to which Yingtsung should consider his predecessor as his real father, and could give his own parent no title but that of *hwang pe*, or august uncle. His representations on the subject not having been attended to, he risked a new remonstrance, and of so urgent a character that six only of the censors under his direction were found bold enough to sign it. The emperor was indignant at their presumption. "These censors, said he, are wanting in their duty, and have arranged themselves against the greater number of their body. I dismiss them from office. Let others be chosen in their places."

Szema Kwang enjoyed now, for some time, the leisure of private life. He resumed with pleasure his literary occupations, and it was at this time that he traced the plan of his great historical work. The first result of his labors was an essay in eight chapters in the plan

of the celebrated chronicle of Tsŏ Heaou Ming, which is itself based upon the Spring and Autumn Records of Confucius. When the emperor Yingtsung had received this essay, he was so much pleased with it that he gave orders to the author to continue the work, and to extend the plan so as to embrace the actions of both princes and subjects, and whatever concerned the science of government. Szema Kwang having received these orders, at once resumed his labors. He collected all the books that he could find in libraries, brought together the most ancient memorials, and consulted the recent authorities. He submitted contradictory opinions to examination and discussion, rectified errors, dissipated the obscurity which covered particular events, and brought all the traditions into one series, where the facts, chronologically arranged, formed, according to the Chinese expression, a vast web whose warp follows the order of time, and the woof extends over the empire Commencing with the period the Chinese call 'the time of civil wars,' he begins his recital at the reign of Weileĕ wang of the Chow dynasty, and brings them down to the five dynasties which preceded the establishment of the one under which he himself lived; so that they include a space of thirteen hundred and sixty-two years. The title of this fine work is *Tsze Che Tung Keën*, which may be translated a Mirror for the Use of those who Govern. It is, in fact, a chronicle, where all the facts are given in one continued series, instead of being classed, as with Szema Tseën, in different parts consecrated to biography, the history of arts and institutions, foreign history, and geography. The Tung Keën has been continued by different authors, and was completed in all that regards ancient times, by Lew Mei, the friend and fellow-laborer of Szema Kwang. Epitomes and abridgements have been made of it, but what is most in favor of this work is the fact of its having been taken by the celebrated Choo He as the basis of that history, composed of summaries and the details of particular facts, called in Chinese, Tung Keën Kang mŭh. The Kang mŭh, or summaries, are by Choo He, and the groundwork, or Tung Keën, belongs to Szema Kwang.

In its original form, the Tsze Che Tung Keën contained two hundred and ninety-four chapters of the text, thirty chapters of tables, and thirty others of dissertations. The author, although assisted by the most able literati of his time, only finished it in A. D. 1084, under the reign of Shintsung, the successor of the emperor who had taken so much interest in the commencement of the work.

At this time, A. D. 1084, Szema Kwang had been long returned to public life. Shintsung, ascending the throne after the death of Yingtsung, wished to collect around his own person all the most enlightened men of the empire. Among this number it was impossible to forget Szema Kwang. But his second appearance in political life was as stormy as the first. He was placed in opposition to one of those bold spirits who, in their plans of reform, recoil from no obstacle, and are withheld by no respect for ancient institutions. Szema Kwang showed himself, what he had always been, a religious observer of the customs of antiquity, and ready to brave all things in their defense. The reformer thus accidentally opposed to Szema Kwang was Hwang Nganche. It seemed as if the conservative genius, watching over the preservation of the empire, and the spirit of innovation which shakes and disturbs them, had been called to a fair contest with equal arms. The two adversaries were endowed with the same talents, but actuated by the most dissimilar principles; one was for employing the resources of his imagination, the activity of his mind, and the firmness of his character, in changing and regenerating all things; the other, to resist the torrent, called to his aid the recollections of the past, the examples of the ancients, and those lessons of history which he had passed his life in studying.

Even the prejudices of the nation, to which Hwang Nganche affected to hold himself superior, found a defender in the partisan of ancient ideas. The year 1069 had been signalized by a combination of unfortunate events, and many provinces were laid waste by epidemical diseases, earthquakes, and a universally destructive drought. According to established custom, the censors took this occasion to recommend to the emperor a severe scrutiny into his conduct, for the purpose of ascertaining its entire correctness, and a strict inquiry into all affairs of government for the prevention of abuses. The emperor showed his sense of the public calamities by restricting his private pleasures, denying himself the luxury of music, feasts in the palace, &c. The reforming minister did not approve of this homage paid to received opinions. "The misfortunes which persecute us," said he to the emperor, "have fixed and invariable causes; earthquakes, droughts, and inundations have no connection with the actions of men. Do you expect to change the order of things, or do you wish that nature should make new laws for you?"

Szema Kwang, who was present at this discourse, could not allow it to pass unnoticed. "Sovereigns, said he, are much to be pitied when they have near their persons men who dare to utter such opinions

Thus it is that they lose the fear of heaven; and what other restraint is capable of checking their evil practices? Masters of all and able to do all things with impunity, they may then, without remorse, be guilty of every excess; whilst those of their subjects who are truly attached to them will have lost the only means they possessed of bringing them to a sense of duty."

It is difficult to say which of these discourses contained the most genuine philosophy, but very easy to guess which would be most agreeable to the monarch. However, it should be said in praise of Shintsung that he showed no resentment at the sincerity of Szema Kwang. He continued to listen patiently to his advice, whilst he was governed by that of Hwang Nganche. The most able men and most loyal subjects, one by one retired from the scene of public affairs, the conduct of which became more and more contrary to their views. Szema Kwang was longer in coming to this decision, always hoping that the emperor would end by listening to the truth.

In the meanwhile, he continued his historical labors and finished his great work, the preface to which the emperor condescended to write himself. About this time, Szema Kwang was named by Shintsung president of the imperial academy, the Hanlin. This body is both literary and political, and its functions bear some analogy to those with which it was proposed to endow the French Institute at the time of its establishment. The wise Szema Kwang, persevering in his orthodoxy, wished to decline this honorable appointment. He did not desire, he said, to be at the head of a company, the ranks of which would soon be filled by doctors of the new school, whose ideas being in conformity with those of Hwang Nganche, were diametrically opposite to the principles which he had imbibed from the study of the ancients. "You will set things right," replied the emperor; "you will be at the head of these men, and will either bring them over to your way of thinking, or be yourself converted to their opinions."

Szema Kwang still sought an excuse. "I cannot write verses," said he. "It is necessary that the president of the Academy should know how to write poetry and good poetry, that he may be qualified to criticize what is submitted to his judgment." "This reason is no better than the other; restrict yourself to prose," answered the monarch, "and leave poetry to those who understand it. I will listen to no farther objections."

Szema Kwang could no longer persist in his refusal. He accepted the appointment: but he profited by the rights it gave him to prefer

whatever suited his own opinions, and to reserve entirely to himself the historical department. Shintsung came himself to hear him, and Szema Kwang did not hesitate to deliver, in his presence, a lecture on the reigns of Woo te and Yuen te. These were two emperors of the Han family, who by their great confidence in ministers, lovers of novelty and change, and by their own disposition to deviate from the examples of the ancients, had compromised the safety of the state, excited troubles, and prepared the ruin of their dynasty. The emperor perfectly understood the drift of the discourse. Far from being offended at it, he permitted the men of letters attached to his own suite to enter into discussions with Szema Kwang, in which he had greatly the advantage. The emperor had made up his own mind, and for this reason, perhaps, he was patient of contradiction.

A short time after, being well persuaded that the remonstrances of Szema Kwang had no object but the public good, Shintsung furnished him with the fairest opportunities for making them, by placing him at the head of the public censors. The collection called *Koo Wán Yuen Kién* contains many specimens of this sort of writing, the compositions on various occasions of Szema Kwang, and it is to be wished that all coming from his pencil had been preserved, as they consist generally of fragments of Chinese history or politics, equally remarkable for their nobleness of thought and sustained elegance of expression. Those persons who do not understand Chinese may form some idea of these compositions from the work of Du Halde, who has inserted many of Szema Kwang's petitions translated by father Hervieu.

In accepting for the second time the office of public censor, Szema Kwang was well aware that he must give a great deal of advice which would never be attended to, but there is no degree of virtue which does not weary at last of being always importunate and never useful. After many vain efforts to make himself heard, Szema Kwang solicited permission to retire, and the emperor, though unwilling to lose the services of so zealous a counselor, granted it. He then established himself at Loyang (now Kaefung in Honan), determined from thenceforward to divide his time between study, and the cares which he owed to the poor and oppressed of his countrymen. For the emperor, in permitting him to retire from court, had exacted of him that he should retain his title of censor, and this compelled him to make his voice heard whenever the interests of the place he had selected as his residence required him to do so.

This honorable and laborious retreat was not to be of long continu-

ance. Shintsung died, and Szema Kwang thought it incumbent on him to return to the capital for the purpose of paying there the honors due to his master's memory. His journey was like a long triumph. Few persons had read his great historical works, and fewer still were capable of appreciating them, but all were acquainted with his political virtue, his courageous resistance to power, the bold and energetic remonstrances, with which, for twenty years, the imperial Gazette had been filled, and the claims he was always ready to advance in favor of the unfortunate. This concert of voices which in other places, and in times nearer our own, would be called public opinion, was heard so loudly, that a man whose loyalty had been less known might have felt some inconvenience from it. Szema Kwang was equally afraid of the good and bad effects which might result from such an expression in his favor. He wished to withdraw himself from both, and took his departure secretly for Loyang. But the empress regent who knew the value of such a man, sent an order for his return, and named him successively governor to the young emperor and minister His first care, in this eminent position, was to obtain free access to the regent, for all who had complaints to make, or remonstrances to be addressed to her. His most important object was to efface every trace of the government of Hwang Nganche. Not satisfied with reestablishing order in the home administration, he turned his attention to the Tartars, and to put an end to the disputes which had arisen between the empire and the princes of Tangut, he caused himself to be named plenipotentiary, and undertook a journey through their country. His fame had preceded him, and he found the people of Tangut disposed to adopt with full confidence all the arrangements he wished to propose.

The peace which was soon after concluded, was the last service that Szema Kwang rendered to his country. The journey had exhausted his little remaining strength; at his return he was taken ill, and from that time continued to languish. The empress regent who could not resolve to deprive herself of the benefit of his counsels, dispensed with the usual etiquette in order to facilitate his approach to the throne, and spared him all the most fatiguing ceremonies. But these honors seemed only to hasten his end, and in the ninth moon of the first year of the reign of Chetsung (A. D. 1086), he died at the age of sixty-eight years.

The funeral honors granted to him by the empress were worthy of so distinguished a life, and the official panegyric which was, according to custom, pronounced upon him, declared him to have been pos-

sessed of all the qualities belonging to a wise man, an excellent citizen, and an accomplished minister. But his highest eulogy was the universal grief caused by his death. The shops were closed, the people clothed themselves in voluntary mourning, and the women and children who could not kneel before his coffin, paid him the same degree of respect by prostrating themselves within doors before his portrait. These testimonies of regret accompanied his coffin during the whole route, when his body was transported to his native country.

In seeing the honors rendered to the memory of this great man, it would have been difficult to foretell the change which a few years was to produce. The partisans of Hwang Ngan che were restored to the public employments from which Szema Kwang had dismissed them, and succeeded in deceiving the young emperor who had attained his majority, and the conduct of affairs. Eleven years after his death, Szema Kwang was deprived of all his posthumous honors and declared the enemy of his country and his sovereign. Such a disgrace as this makes a great impression on the minds of the Chinese. His tomb was overthrown, the marble on which his praises had been recorded cast down, and another erected containing the enumeration of his pretended crimes. His writings were consigned to the flames, and the persecutors of his memory would willingly have annihilated one of the finest literary monuments of China.

Three years had scarcely elapsed when the memory of Szema Kwang was restored to its honors and prerogatives. In 1129, the then reigning emperor, to revenge this celebrated man for the injuries which had been done him, placed his tablet in the hall of his own imperial ancestors, by the side of that of the emperor Chetsung who had attempted to disgrace him. In 1269, his name was inscribed in the temple of Confucius, with the title of *wăn kung*, of which "prince of letters" is the nearest translation; and in 1530, he received a new denomination which he has preserved to the present time; that of *seën joo Szema tsze*. This can only be explained by saying, that the person to whom it is applied has shown himself invariably attached to the literary and political principles of the school of Confucius.

Father Amiot has given a place to Szema Kwang in his gallery "des Chinois célèbres," and the portrait there made of him has furnished several features to the author of this article. We may find a very good notice of the Tung Keën in the Library of Ma Twanlin. It is from this source that Father Maille (Hist. géné. de la Chine) has taken all that we find in his preface concerning Szema Kwang

Art. V. *Notices of China. No* 1. *Of the character of the Chinese, their virtues and vices.* Translated and abridged from the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. By S. R.

[It has been confidently asserted that foreigners in Canton have fewer opportunities to study the character of this people, or the geography, manners and customs, laws, &c., of the empire, then even the savans of France, or the scholars of Germany,—as if it were better to see nothing at all with one's own eyes than to see but little; or, in other words, as if one could trust more safely to mere hearsay, than to the same reports corrected by and compared with facts that come under his personal observation. None who have been here, possessing the least faculty of attention to men and things about them, can have gone away without finding their preconceptions in regard to China and the Chinese greatly modified, and few, if any, will admit the truth of the assertion so gravely made in the western hemisphere. On both sides of the world, we are very much indebted to the missionaries of the Roman Catholic church for no small share of our knowledge of the interior of this country. But so far from inducing us to set aside the results of our own observation are their reports, that they in general only confirm them, by describing facts similar to those noticed in the province of Canton and along the coast. With a view, principally, to enable our readers resident in China to judge for themselves whether there be any good reason to distrust their own eyes, or whether there is not much reason to believe that in the main we already know China even better than those who have only read, but not seen for themselves, we have in the present number commenced the translation of a series of observations made by a French missionary, who, after residing in this country ten years, returned to his native land and published his reminiscences in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. They are taken from the fortieth number of that journal, which was printed in 1835, and it appears that the writer was in this country as late as the year 1833. The editor of the Annales remarks, that his observations may be relied upon, as he affirms nothing which he has not seen, and formally notifies the reader of that which he knows merely from report, or of which he is not certain. Having stated our object in giving these notices to the public in English, we need not add that it is not so much to convey information on the matters to which they relate, as to furnish additional grounds of comparison between notes made here, and in the heart of the empire. If we find that they substantially agree, may we not conclude that under all our disadvantages we are already not a little acquainted with China, and that though mystery be the mode in which we have been taught to regard it, yet after all it is a mystery, which if fully revealed, would disclose but little to surprise or disappoint us? *Tr.*]

The Chinese in general are mild, laborious and patient. Their industry is especially remarkable. No condition or calling in life is mean provided they become rich by it, for then their fortune will obliterate the baseness of their vocation. Once rich they will change their manner of life. It is this thirst for gold that renders them for the most part dissemblers and unjust, yet if they are overtaken in a lie,

they can rarely refrain from a blush. To the love of riches they join that of ostentation, and are very sensible to flattery. In private, they observe great frugality, and if at any time they have good cheer, it is rather the necessity to make a show, than anything else, that induces them to do it. Nowhere, perhaps, are vicissitudes of fortune more frequent and rapid. Those whose fathers have held offices under government, are often found reduced to the condition of street-porters. In general they are vindictive. If they have lost a suit at law, or have received an injury of which they cannot demand reparation, they betake themselves to their enemy's gate or lands, with the sole design of annoying him, and by that means of obtaining a sort of revenge. Suicides and homicides, are very frequent. Infanticide is common in the southern provinces,* so that there are few girls there, and dealers go into the provinces of the north to buy or kidnap, and then return and sell them in the regions of the south. It ought always to be said, however, that the barbarous custom of strangling infants at the moment of their birth, if their parents are overburdened with them, is more tolerated than permitted; the government does not meddle with it.

The laboring classes are not despised by their superiors. Persons of quality and wealth do not think themselves disgraced by eating with their parents, who have been unsuccessful in life, nor even with laborers and domestics. The aged are very much respected, even the officers of government have a regard for them.

As to the poor, they are of two sorts. The one gain a livelihood by the labor of their hands, and the other are mendicants, a degraded class, who often have nothing but a mat to cover their nakedness. Nobody harbors them for fear of being robbed. They lie (at night) upon the bridges, and in public places, being denied even the caves of the rocks, lest they should die there, for then the proprietor would be obliged to pay the officer who buries the corpse, and often to submit to a legal process, which is always very expensive in China. It must be confessed, notwithstanding, that if these beggars were not for the most part gamblers and knaves, they would find enough in what is given them to meet their most pressing necessities. When

* With regard to *infanticide*, we wish our author had been more communicative, and given more reasons and facts for his opinion. The crime might be expected to prevail in Canton and its vicinity, if anywhere in this province. Be this as it may, there is here no lack of female children, who are carefully nursed and nurtured, and brought up to womanhood. So far as our personal observation and inquiries extend, the proportion of the sexes is as well preserved here as any where else in the world. *Tr*

a proprietor lets a piece of land, he always takes care to exact of the farmer a pledge equivalent to, or even exceeding the income of the property leased, without which precaution, he might rely upon it that, when the harvest is gathered, the farmer would sell the fruits and appropriate the proceeds.

There are in China pawnbroker's offices, having the same regulations as our own, but the usury is exorbitant. Besides, if the proceeds from the sale of the pawn is greater than the sum loaned, the excess is not paid over to the borrower. As those who hold these offices become very rich in a short time, the officers of government whose sanction is necessary, know well how to share the profits with them, and these are the means they employ for that purpose. They send some cast-off garments as a pawn for a sum they wish to borrow, without saying how much. The pawnbrokers, who know what they would say, send them twice as much money as the clothes are worth, and at that price buy the peace. I have spoken of usury. The laws of the empire allow 30 per cent., but individuals ordinarily demand but twenty; yet those who have contracted debts, unless they discharge them promptly, are soon ruined.

When a woman, who is early widowed, has not been married a second time, and has brought up her family well, she enjoys high esteem, and her children, on coming to preferment, or having simply taken a degree, obtain permission of the emperor to erect a monument to her memory. It consist of a large stone portal, with an elegant façade. Situated upon the road near a town or city it informs every body of the merit and virtue of the widow.

The Chinese are sometimes very obstinate and quarrelsome, and frequently engage in ruinous lawsuits. Credits are very common, and the creditor is obliged to wait a long time upon his debtor. If at last his patience is exhausted, he takes some true friends and makes a new call upon him; but then he must have good reason for so doing, or else they come to blows. When the debtor has been well beaten, he becomes more tractable, and acknowledges his debt, and, if he has no money, appoints a time which he will not pass without paying something, if he cannot entirely discharge it.

Schools are numerous, and ordinarily at the expense of those who attend them, but sometimes at that of the inhabitants of the village, where a master is required to educate their children. The schools are very independent of government. Whoever has the requisite talents may open one. From time to time an examiner is sent by government to make the teachers compose theses, and if incompe-

tent to pass the examination, they are obliged to close their schools for ever.*

Public granaries are found in China, belonging, it may be, to individuals, or to government. Those of the government are in the charge of an officer whose duty it is to see that they are always full. When a famine begins to be felt,† a distribution of rice is made to the poor. It is only to be regretted that satellites should be intrusted with it, since they always embezzle a part of the store. When there is no famine, the officer in charge sells the rice, and buys new at harvest-time. As a matter of course the profits of the trade go to him. If the granaries in his district are not full, and an accusation be brought against him, he is sure to lose his place. The other granaries belong to the individuals who have raised a fund to appropriate the income to that object. When once filled, the surplus income is employed for the common expenses of the district; for example, to pay the expenses of the *heäng yeŏ*, whose functions answer to those of our mayors or justices of the peace, and for the repairs and maintenance of these magazines.

In the years of abundance, they loan thence or sell the rice, and at the time of harvest, cause it to be returned with usury, and thus the common fund increases rapidly. The officer of the neighborhood levies a sort of tax upon these granaries, and when there is a dearth, the proprietors have recourse to them for the relief of the poor. The emperor, moreover, comes to their succor by sending considerable money into the provinces where the famine prevails, but it often remains in part, in the hands of the officers to whom it is intrusted. In every city there are almshouses or hospitals, (partaking of the character of both,) for the most part endowed and supported by government, but they only receive the aged and infirm [with children], and those who cannot maintain themselves. Besides they are badly managed, and their incomes in a great measure consumed by the attendants.

* This is disputed. I am informed by Chinese gentlemen, that the *shoo yuen*, or college, which is erected and endowed by voluntary contributions, always has a *keu jin* for its teacher, or more than one of them if necessary. These are either recommended by the chief civil officer of the district where the college is situated, or if not, they are selected by the trustees, and are never afterwards subjected to any examination, their degree being considered a sufficient guaranty for their ability. *Tr.*

† Famines are very frequent. [?] What prevents this scourge in Europe is the free circulation of commerce and corn. The geographical position of China, surrounded by barbarous people, and the voluntary separation from civilized nations to which she adheres, are the two principal reasons why a bad crop produces a year of dearth. The provinces overburdened with their population are little able to help one another

Although the Chinese, may be, in general, very corrupt, yet they maintain great outward modesty. A man in speaking to a woman, never looks at her face, nor yet turns towards her. When a woman goes abroad she will always be accompanied by an attendant, if she cares for her reputation. When she arrives at an inn, the innkeeper does not receive her, but his wife or daughter, who introduces her into the female apartments, and waits upon her.

If a stranger comes in, and he be invited to dine, though he should be a friend of the family, the females will not eat at the same table, at least unless he be a kinsman * It is a great act of indecorum to look at a woman's feet. Most of the Chinese women have small feet, with the exception of those who live in the mountains, or labor upon the soil, or live in boats. All others have feet more or less small, according as they are more or less wealthy, or as their mothers have taken pains to procure for them this kind of beauty,—for it is so regarded by them. Hence from the age of four or five years, or sometimes later, they bandage them tightly even above the ankles. As they wear two pairs of shoes, one upon the other,† and always keep one on, their feet are night and day in these shackles.

When the little girls begin to grow, they suffer very much, and fret and cry, until they understand that they would be very ugly with large feet, and then they bear in patience an evil that seems necessary. Those who reside in cities have feet so small that they can scarcely walk. In order to go a short distance, they must have a sedan.

Females are not regarded in China as they are in Europe. When once married they are for the most part truly pitiable. They are absolutely dependent upon the caprice of their husbands, who regard them less as companions, than as servants. They all wear trowsers, their dress being nearly the same as that of the men. Their chief ornament consists in a good head of hair, with flowers upon it, and a necklace if married, and yet young. Ear-rings and bracelets are also common. The men have the head shaved, except the occiput, where they retain the hair to make a cue. They also wear monstaches and beard, if indeed they flourish a thing rare among the Chinese. At a certain age the hair is entirely black, although in many instances it may be white in infancy.

* There seems to be some diversity in the custom here alluded to. In this part of the country (Canton province) it is not usual for women to eat with their husbands under any circumstances, and where, for any reasons, it is practiced, the presence of company always suspends the custom *Tr*

† This fact, if it be so, is quite at variance with the custom here. It is more probable that the writer mistook the bandage for a pair of shoes This is always worn, even to old age *Tr.*

ART. VI. *Notices respecting the prevalence and effects of opium-smoking in China.* Communicated for the Chinese Repository.

MR. EDITOR,—I have a few facts on the prevalence and effects of opium-smoking in this part of China which may awaken observation in others, and thus supply to your readers a kind of information which many of them would be glad to possess. In the early part of last year, I engaged a teacher whom I soon ascertained to be a confirmed opium-smoker. His pale and emaciated face—the relaxed tone of his mind — the frequent escape of his thoughts from the subject in hand,—his occasional stupidity and unconquerable drowsiness, with other effects of a physical kind, formed a diagnosis of his case which scarcely needed the confirmation of his own candid confession. I am happy to add that symptoms, no less unequivocal, prove that the habit may be abandoned even after many years of indulgence. Another teacher, and the only one whom I ever had before, except for occasional assistance, was irreclaimably abandoned. Wanness of countenance, waste of form, and premature decrepitude, with at times a total incapacity of mind and body for his duties, were the consequences. I am unable to say whether he is still alive.

The teacher of a fellow-student was another case which came frequently under my eye. He had become reduced to a skeleton, and had contracted a disease which is even still more inveterate than the cause which produced it. One day he was missing, the next he was still absent, and on the third day his relations came with the usual request for money to bury him. Poor man! he protested that he had renounced the baneful indulgence, but confessed that it had been his ruin. The confession was true, as confessions usually are; the protestation was false, as we learned both before and after his decease. Three other teachers have since been engaged, two of whom it was ascertained were habitual smokers, and have been dismissed. The one mentioned as a solitary exception to all the others who had given themselves to this species of ebriety, has never been employed as a teacher before, and would not have been engaged now but for the assurance that his mind and body, and his pupils through them, should never suffer from this cause.

The comprador of the house who came to us, as we thought under very favorable auspices, certainly with a full understanding of our feelings and determinations on this point, proved himself a slave of

the same vice. He too wore the cadaverous hue, the painful brow, and the lank appearance of his class. While he was with us, he made a pander of one of the coolies, and rewarded him with the pipe. I purposely avoid trenching upon the grounds of others who have had the same domestic trials. Happy is the man who has not known them, although he may owe his bliss to a very prolific cause of human contentment, a cause too which he has the power to perpetuate. 'If ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.'

Entering a hut just beyond the west gate of Macao, we were surprised to find its occupant busily engaged in weighing out the smallest quantities of the drug to poverty-stricken purchasers — one of whom was obliged to pawn an article of clothing before he could realize the required sum, less than twenty cash. We were greeted at the door of the next house by a young man of prepossessing appearance and manners, whose *opium-marked* face, and evident superiority to the place and company in which we saw him, prepared us for the confessions which he afterwards made. Under the influence of the stimulus at the time, he invited us into an inner apartment, where two or others were lying who made no hesitation to smoke in our presence. This young man of five-and-twenty acknowledged, that for the last ten years he had had scarcely a sober day. The effect was decided. Indeed he was so far alarmed at the dependence of the vital functions upon this *harmless luxury*, and at the extreme difficulty of holding in abeyance some of those symptoms which usually precede a fatal result, that he was quite prepared to listen to arguments urging him to reform. Through the careful treatment he received at the Medical Missionary hospital, followed by a long sea voyage which he is now taking, there is every reason to hope that his health will be entirely restored. An elder brother, as he called himself, who was always with him, had not the resolution to submit to the same regimen. I met him a short time since, and his changed appearance and sad complaints gave no flattering promise of a long or comfortable life. This house having passed into other hands, the place of smoking was transferred to an apartment some distance beyond, surrounded by a number of small huts teeming with inhabitants, from whom, as from ourselves, there were no effectual means employed to conceal their violation of the laws of the country.

In a ruin deeply shaded by a clump of trees, on the side of the hill which slopes to the Leënfung temple, we found five beggars, two of whom acknowledged that they daily allowed themselves this indulgence, while a third was so strongly marked, that his appearance led

to the inquiry and disclosure. Of the few who honor me the most frequently with their friendly calls, about one half are smokers. One of them is a respectable looking physician who has no moral power, if he has the medical skill, to cure himself. If his looks and tongue are not equally fallacious, he has declined in health during the few months I have known him. Another was the teacher of * * * who from frequent attacks of illness and absence from his duties, gave his pupil much occasion for the exercise of patience. A third is a patient of the Medical Missionary hospital, the son of a mandarin; he is now suffering under exfoliation of part of the outer table of the skull, and his system is too enfeebled to reproduce the loss.

But the most affecting cases of all are two Chinese, who have both made a profession of Christianity. To the disappointment and grief of their friends, it was discovered that they were secretly indulging this habit, although they both stoutly denied it; and when the evidence became irresistible, instead of confessing and renouncing the sin, they were shameless enough to justify it. Within a few months, the one whom we know the best has had two attacks of long and rather serious illness.

I would merely add that I have taken no pains to search out this unfortunate class of men, neither did I treasure up these cases for future publication. On the contrary, I could easily swell the list by many additional and striking examples. The subject was proposed a few days ago, and these are some of the recollections which the suggestion called up. Your philosophic readers will please to remember that they alone are responsible for whatever construction they may put upon this specimen of FACTS.

Art. VII. *Notices of Japan, No. I. Appearance of the coast; regulations regarding intercourse with the Dutch. Derived principally from recent Dutch accounts of Japan, and the German of Dr. Von Siebold*

[The following series of articles, on the manners and customs of Japan, of which this is the first, are extracted from the Asiatic Journal, Vol. XXIX, for 1839, in which they successively appeared. They seem to have been drawn up by some persons much interested in that secluded country, and in such a manner as to embody the information to be derived from recent sour-

ecs in an interesting and consecutive manner. At this period, when foreign settlements are approaching closer than ever to the gates of Dezima, information upon Japan is very timely, and we think we do such of our readers as are interested in that country a favor by reprinting them in the Repository. We have added notes at the foot of the pages, the information in which is derived from Japanese themselves, whom shipwreck and the cruel laws of their native land have twice driven into exile; these notes are inclosed in brackets. The several articles relating to Japan, in preceding volumes of the Repository, will with these form a tolerably complete account of the country; they are, on the religious worship of the Japanese, vol. II, page 318; on the geography, customs, &c., of Japan, vol. III, pages 145, 193; on the Portuguese, and Dutch intercourse with Japan, and the visit of that ship Morrison to Yedo, vol. VI, pages 353, 401, 460, 553; English intercourse with Japan, vol. VII, pages 217, 588; and lastly, account of an embassy to the pope, Vol. VIII, page 273. In reprinting the following papers, we have endeavored to make the orthography of the Japanese words uniform with the Italian mode of spelling, and have therefore altered a few of them. The powers of the vowels are very uniform; viz., *a* as in *father*; *e* as in *they*; *i* as in *machine*; *o* as in *flow*; *u* as in *rule*; &c., &c. W.]

Whilst English travelers are constantly supplying information concerning the least interesting regions of the globe, there is an extensive, populous, and highly though singularly civilized empire, which remains as much a *terra incognita* now, as it was a century ago. Japan has for nearly two centuries, since the simultaneous expulsion of Christianity and the Portuguese, A. D. 1640, been hermetically closed against foreigners of all climes, Asiatics as well as Europeans, with the exception of one Chinese and one Dutch factory, both established, and in fact imprisoned, in one seaport town; and of these exceptions, the limited numbers of the Dutch factory, of which alone we know anything, have been gradually, reduced, whilst their visits to the capital have been in like manner restricted. During this long period, no intelligence respecting this insular empire has been attainable, save when some scientific physician, visiting the Dutch factory as its allowed medical attendant, gleaned such scanty facts as his Japanese acquaintance ventured to impart, in violation of their solemn obligation to reveal nothing, which stimulated rather than appeased the appetite of those Europeans who desired to be acquainted with a country so remarkable for the originality of its political institutions, the peculiar character of its people, and a form of civilization neither European nor Asiatic, and apparently altogether indigenous.

Of late, however, through the endeavors to open a trade with Japan, to which the spirit of commercial enterprize has given birth in other nations, Russia, America, and England, the spirit of authorship has inspired members of the Dutch counting-house at Dezima. The consequence has been, that three several Dutch works upon Japan have appeared, by two chiefs and one warehouse-keeper of the factory; and Dr. Ph. Fr. von Siebold, a learned German, who, like his German and Swedish predecessors, Kæmpfer and Thunberg, held the situation of physician to the factory, with equal judgment and industry prosecuted his researches under circumstances more favorable than have been enjoyed by any European since the expulsion of the Jesuits. From these several works, which, in their original languages, cannot be familiar to the British public, it is proposed to collect and embody in a series of papers such facts as appear likely to interest the general reader with the addition of any further

information that may seem requisite to the full understanding of the political and social state of Japan, taken from older writers,* whose works, though rendered accessible by translation, are, from their unattractive form, almost unknown.

Holland has no direct communication with Japan. The Dezima factory is under the control of the governor-general of the Dutch East-Indian possessions, and it is with the seat of colonial government at Batavia, in the island of Java, that all its intercourse is carried on. Instructions and appointments originate there, and thence the two annual ships, to which the Dutch trade with Japan is limited, sail for the bay of Nagasaki.

* A brief account of the different writers upon Japan, most of whom have been consulted for these papers, may satisfy the reader, if not as to the authenticity of the statements, at least that no pains have been spared to authenticate them. The first writers upon Japan are the Jesuit missionaries; the fathers Charlevoix and Crasset have embodied most of their information, which principally relates to the concerns of the missions, and accounts of the persecutions. Engelbert Kæmpfer, a German physician, was a member of the Dutch factory for two years, about the year 1680, and his two folio volumes contain all the new information touching Japan, which was published from the expulsion of the Jesuits in A. D. 1640, till the latter end of the last century. In 1775, Thunberg was, like Kæmpfer, sent to Japan as medical attendant, and diligently studied the land of his temporary sojourn; his volume on Japan is more amusing but less instructive than the old German's. The next work, after the lapse of 25 or 30 years, was capt. Golownin's Account of his Captivity, and his Recollections of Japan, both of which, from the circumstance of his being a captive, and his own anxiety concerning the result of his detention, require to be read with much caution; his authority is the least to be relied on. Some twelve or fifteen years afterwards, M. Titsingh's translation of the Annals of the Siogouns was published by the French purchaser of his papers; and in 1834, appeared his translation of the Annals of the Dairis, edited by Klaproth. To these separate works, might be added the fragments of information found in Krusenstern's voyage, Raffles' History of Java, capt. Gordon's Account of his visit at the bay of Simoda, Klaproth's translation of a Japanese Geographical Treatise, and his opinion of the Japanese language in the *Asia Polyglotta*, and various papers in Dutch writers upon the Archipelago.

We now come to the three Dutch and German authors, from whom these papers are chiefly compiled; and so much of their means of acquiring information as respectively heads or warehouse-master of the factory, appears in the use made of their books, that it may be sufficient here to add the names of those books, after first observing that from Heer Doeff, considering his nineteen years' residence in Japan, far greater stores of additional knowledge might have been hoped, had he not lost all his papers, collections, everything but his own life—his newly-married wife dying with her unborn babe in consequence of her sufferings—in an unfortunate shipwreck upon his return to Europe. The Dutch works are, Meylan's JAPAN, *voorgesteld in Schetsen over de Zaelen en gebruiken van det Ryk, byzonder over de Ingezetenen der Stad Nagasaky*, meaning, JAPAN, presented in Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Realm, especially of the town of Nagasaki: published in 1830. Meylan, it is understood, has since died in Japan. Heer Overmeer Fischer's quarto, entitled *Bydrage tot de Kennis van het Japanesche Ryk*, or Contributions to the Knowledge of the Japanese Realm, appeared in 1833, and was followed in the same year by Heer Doeff's *Herinnerungen nit Japan*, or Recollections out of Japan. The books have here been placed in the order of their publication; but it should be added, that Doeff had left Japan before either of the others had reached it, and that Fischer preceded Meylan. The German work of Dr. Ph. Fr. von Siebold is entitled NIPPON, *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (Archive towards the Description of Japan): it is to be regretted that the miscellaneous form in which the learned author has thought fit to publish his valuable observations, without taking the trouble of working them into a whole, renders his Archive very unsuited to translation into English, although a mine of information.

The voyage appears to occupy from five to six weeks, varying in length, partly according to the time spent in visits to Dutch settlements by the way. The first aspect of Japan is unprepossessing. The rocks and reefs, that render so large a part of the coast inaccessible, and the frequent fogs that obscure, or storms that sweep the neighboring seas, making those rocks formidable even to the experienced mariner, are hardly more inhospitable than the offensive, precautionary rules to which the ship, and every individual on board, are subjected, ere permission to anchor in Nagasaki bay be obtained. Occasionally, however, the unfitness of the native vessels to contend with the tempests alluded to, affords a commencement of Japanese adventures prior even to these annoyances, which, by stimulating curiosity as to the object in view, may encourage the visitor to submit to them the more patiently. Dr. von Siebold had, prior to coming in sight of Japan, such an opportunity of making acquaintance with native Japanese, and learning something of the rigorous laws by which they are governed. He thus relates the occurrence:

"After a fearful storm, a wreck was discovered at daybreak of the 5th of August. We made towards it, and recognized a vessel without mast or sail, dragging two anchors. At first, we thought her a Chinese junk; but from a distress-flag she had hoisted, we soon discovered that she was Japanese. Unable to carry the smallest sail, she was driving before the E. N. E. wind further and further from land. We lay to, and stiff as was the gale, high as was the sea, lowered a boat to offer our assistance to the unfortunate crew in their desperate situation. Capt. Jacometti himself went in the boat, and by strenuous exertion, succeeded in reaching the wreck. The Japanese received the well-known Hollanders as their salvors, and seeing the impossibility of making the land in their dismasted, leaky vessel, resolved to leave it for our ship. It may seem that, under such circumstances, no great deliberation as to adopting the means of escape tendered could be requisite; but when we shall be better acquainted with the character of the Japanese, with their laws, and with the responsibility weighing upon their officers and constituted authorities, we shall rather wonder that any degree of danger could induce a Japanese sailor to quit his own vessel in order to seek safety on board a foreigner. Meanwhile, the *Onderneming* had rejoined us, and the gallant captain Lelsz also hastened with his boat to the rescue. The Japanese sailors, twenty-four in number, were divided between the two boats. Some provisions—as rice, salt pork, *sake* (or spirit) tobacco—as well as arms and clothes, were taken out, and the wreck was abandoned, after being scuttled at the urgent prayer of her crew. Their crime would have been unpardonable, had their deserted bark by any chance drifted to the Japanese coast; she must sink, in order to palliate, in some measure, the step which the unlucky men had hazarded for safety. In highly excited expectation we stood on deck, watching our stout mariners as they battled with the mountainous billows. The boat was soon tossed to our side, and curiously did we gaze at the strangers as they successively appeared on our deck. They greeted us courteously, but stood amazed; and, sailor-like, first admired the ship that had braved a storm so fatal to their own. They were the first Japanese we had seen, and greatly were we struck by their staid appearance and modest behavior. Their dress, arms, implements, in short, all they brought on board, drew our attention, and we were presently engaged in pantomimic conversation with them. They were, indeed, tranquilized, and the unhoped-for change in their condition seemed gratifying to them:

but the frightful images of past danger, and traces of long days of painful exertion, still spoke distinctly in their features, Their neglected dress, their whole carriage, all bore the stamp of the state of despair whence they had escaped. They were, however, quickly reconciled to their lot, seemed to relish their *sake* and tobacco, and chatted away with great animation. They spread their mats on deck, each fetched his box, and a scene novel to us began, namely, a Japanese toilet. Above all, we admired their dexterity in shaving their own heads. The Japanese shaves his beard and the crown of his head, omitting to do so only in misfortune—as captivity, death of friends, and the like. In the appropriate *coiffure* of the Japanese, the newly-washed bristly hair left round the shaven crown gives him a wild aspect, which had here passed into the comic, every individual having cut off his *queue* as a sacrifice to his patron divinity, in acknowledgment of his deliverance from imminent danger—a Japanese seaman's vow. Cleanlily dressed, they walked the deck, and seemed transported to a new world. Every object awakened their curiosity, and offered matter for conversation."

The wreck proved to be a vessel belonging to the prince of Satzuma, employed in the trade with the Lewchew Islands, dependencies of the Japanese empire, but more especially of his principality. And it may here be observed, that the danger of their deserted wreck's floating home was not the only one against which the imperiled mariners had to guard, in accepting the foreign assistance tendered them. Had the Dutch been bound elsewhere than to Nagasaki, the involuntary absence of the Japanese from home could hardly have been so short as not to subject them to imprisonment, and a severe judicial examination, ere they could be allowed to to resume their station, low as it might be, amongst their countrymen; whilst anything of a distant voyage would have inevitably incurred the absolute forfeiture of all their rights as natives of the empire.

Upon approaching the desired port, the excitement of those about to set foot for the first time upon the prohibited shores of Japan is raised to the highest pitch; and they are, in the first place, gratified by the appearance of the country, which is said to be very beautiful.

"Hills clothed with fresh green," says Siebold, "cultivated to the very summit, adorn the foreground, behind which arise blue mountain peaks in sharp outlines. Dark rocks here and there break the glassy surface of the sea, and the precipitous wall of the adjacent coast glittered with ever-changing hues in the bright beams of the morning sun. The mountain sides of the nearest island, cultivated in terraces; tall cedars, amongst which white houses shone, and insulated temple-roofs jutted magnificently out, with numerous dwellings and huts bordering the strand and the shores of the bay, afforded a really attractive sight. We neglected not the opportunity of obtaining explanations from our Japanese guests, and learned with surprise that the pretty white houses, which we had taken for the mansions of the grandees, were nothing more than storehouses, the walls of which are coated, as a precaution against fire, with mortar prepared from shell-chalk. Sailing-vessels and fishing-boats enlivened the mouth of the bay. At the call of our Japanese guests, many fishermen approached, and offered us their fish, with a liberality and affability astonishing in their rank of life. They were most friendly, and evidently enjoyed presenting to us and their rescued countrymen the fruit of their toil. They refused gold and gifts of value, but begged some empty wine-bottles. Common green glass bottles are much prized in Japan. These fishermen were as nearly naked as was compatible with decency."

It is here without the mouth of Nagasaki bay that the annoyances resulting from Japanese law and Japanese suspicion, begin. Guards, stationed on the coast, keep a constant lookout for ships, and as soon as the approach of one is reported at Nagasaki, a boat is dispatched thence to demand her name, country, equipage, and every other necessary particular. This is accomplished, without the exchange of a word or any personal intercourse, by papers drawn up from the boat, and returned, after inserting the proper answers. This done, the ship must wait further orders where she is, on pain of being considered and treated as an enemy: and the interval is occupied in packing up bibles, prayer-books, pictures or prints representing sacred subjects, should any such be on board—in short, everything connected with Christianity—in a chest, which is duly locked and sealed.

When the governor of Nagasaki has received these answers, a boat is again sent to demand hostages, and when these have been delivered and conveyed to their destined temporary abode, a Japanese deputation, headed by a police-officer of the highest rank, called a *gobanyosi*, and accompanied always, at the express request of the governor of Nagasaki, by one or two members of the Dutch factory, visits the ship, in order finally to ascertain that she is one of the two lawful, annual merchantmen. Should she, at any stage of the proceedings, prove to be an interloper, she is at once ordered to depart; if in distress of any kind, is supplied with whatever she may need, and that gratuitously, the more strongly to mark the determination to suffer no trade; but she is not permitted to enter the bay, or to hold any communication with the shore, beyond asking for and receiving the necessaries of which she is in want. If the investigation proves satisfactory, the Dutchmen return home, the *gobanyosi* takes possession of the guns, arms of all kinds, ammunition, &c., which together with the chest containing religious objects, he removes to an appointed place on shore, where they remain in deposit during the vessel's stay, to be restored at her departure.

Of course, the result was satisfactory upon the occasion of Siebold's arrival, although some difficulties interrupted the smooth course of the established proceedings. In the first place, Dr. Siebold avers that the Japanese interpreters spoke better Dutch than himself, and they immediately declared their disbelief of his being a native of Holland.* Luckily, however, various accents and dialects prevail in the different districts of Japan; and, in consequence, his assertion that he was a *yama Horanda*, or Dutch mountaineer, proved fully satisfactory. Similar mistrust had been excited in the last century, by the accent of the Swede Thunberg. In the second place, the shipwrecked Japanese sailors had to undergo a long and careful examination, to justify the suspicious and illegal step of going on board a foreign ship. This also proved satisfactory, and the vessel, rendered

* The statement of the Dutch writers, that the Dutch of the interpreters is so Japanese in idiom, grammar, and construction, as to be scarcely intelligible to a new-comer, seems somewhat contradictory to the German's assertion. They may, perhaps, be reconciled, by supposing that the startling panegyric of the latter refers solely to pronunciation; though even with respect to this, it is generally agreed that Japanese organs can perceive no difference between the sounds of L and R, or of F and H. [The sound of R in Japanese is, at the beginning of words very much like *dr*, being a kind of rolling sound; in the middle of a word, it is like the English R, but the Japanese do not appear to be able to discriminate between the L and R. The sounds of F and H are easily distinguished by them, but the different use of these two letters forms one of the features of dialects.]

spiritually and physically innoxious, by the removal of her bibles and her guns, was towed by Japanese boats into the inner harbor, and conducted to her regular anchorage.

"The bay," Dr. Von Siebold says, "becomes more animated as we approach the town, and offers on both sides the most delightful variety of objects. How inviting are the shores, with their cheerful dwellings! What fruitful hills, what majestic temple-groves! How picturesque those green mountain-tops, with their volcanic formation! How luxuriantly do those evergreen oaks, cedars, and laurels clothe the declivity! What activity, what industry, does nature, thus tamed, as it were, by the hand of man, proclaim! As witness those precipitous walls of rock, at whose feet corn-fields and cabbage-gardens are sown in terraces from the steep; witness the coast, where Cyclopean bulwarks set bounds to the arbitrary caprice of a hostile element!"

A superior police-officer is now stationed at Dezima (the Dutch residence adjoining Nagasaki), to watch the unloading and subsequent loading of the vessel, towards which not a step may be taken except under his immediate superintendence. Nay, not a soul is permitted to land without undergoing a personal search in this officer's presence; a new chief (*opperhoofd*) of the factory being the only individual exempt from this annoyance.

The offensive custom originated, probably, in the stratagem long employed, to facilitate the immoderate smuggling carried on. We are told that formerly, every captain of the annual ships was wont, whilst the bibles, &c., were in process of packing, to clothe himself in loose attire, which was made to fit him, in external appearance, by internal waddings. Thus enlarged, he presented himself to the visiting Japanese officer. When about to land, he exchanged his waddings for the contraband articles intended to be introduced, wore his waddings during his stay, and repeated the former operation prior to re-embarking for departure. This practice has been rendered impossible; but it should seem that, in spite of Japanese suspicion and vigilance, other modes of introducing and extracting prohibited goods have been adopted in its stead, inasmuch as all the members of the factory agree that such prohibited goods are brought on shore, and secretly sold or bartered for such Japanese wares as the Dutch wish, but are forbidden to acquire. Of these last, many specimens are even now extant, in proof of the fact that they can still be exported as well as purchased, in the Royal Museum at the Hague; whilst the possibility of introducing prohibited articles into Dezima, at least, further appears from president Doeff's statement, that the factory have bibles and psalm-books, the possession of which, president Meylan observes, is now connived at. It may, perhaps, be inferred, that the Japanese dread of Christianity has very much subsided during the long period that has elapsed since the last missionary endeavors to convert the empire.

But to return to the annoyances connected with landing. The indispensable necessity of searching the persons of new comers, as well as the inexorable rigidity of the Japanese system of exclusion, may be illustrated by an incident that could hardly have occurred elsewhere. It appears that, in the year 1817, Doeff's successor in the presidentship of the factory, Heer Blomhoff, threw the whole town of Nagasaki, population, government and all, into consternation, by bringing with him, not an armed force, but his young wife, their new-born babe, and a Javanese nurse: a contravention of Japanese law, the heinousness of which was enhanced by its having been imitated by the mate of the ship, who

had likewise brought his wife with him, less criminally, indeed, than Heer Blomhoff, the mate intending to take his family away again when the vessel sailed, whilst the new head of the factory meditated the atrocious offense of obtruding his wife upon Nagasaki, or at least upon Dezima, during all the years of his presidentship. The governor at once objected to the lady's even landing. Heer Doeff, kindly desirous to procure for his successor, perhaps for all future *opperhoofds* and the whole factory, the solace of virtuous female and domestic society, entered into a negotiation upon the subject, the course and issue of which he thus narrates:

"I appealed to the precedent of 1662, when the Chinese pirate, Koxinga, having taken Formosa from the Dutch, as many women and children as fled thence to Japan were admitted into Dezima; and I solicited the self-same favor now. The governor replied, that the cases were not alike; that, on the occasion cited, the women had come *through necessity* as fugitives, but now *by choice*. In the first case, the Japanese could not refuse an asylum to a friendly nation; the second was altogether different. He promised, however, to submit my request to the court at Yedo, and to allege the precedent in question in its support. Meanwhile, Mevrouw Blomhoff was allowed provisionally to land at Dezima, with her child and servant, awaiting the answer thereto. Still, a great difficulty remained. No one who sets foot in Japan is exempt from an examination of his whole person, the *opperhoofd* alone excepted; the governor himself has no power to dispense with this search. I took it upon myself, nevertheless, to arrange this affair in regard to the women, as well with the superintending *gobanyosi* on board as on shore at Dezima; and although the examination could not be omitted, it was managed with the utmost forbearance and decency. After an interval of two months, the answer to Heer Blomhoff's petition, for leave to keep his wife and child with him, came; it was a refusal. Myn heer was naturally much dissatisfied and dejected, but all our efforts to soften this decision were vain; against the presumed mandate of the emperor, the governor durst not offer any fresh remonstrance or representation. This severity of exclusion was not directed expressly against Hollanders, or even foreign *women*, but against all persons who are not *positively necessary to the trade*. The general principle of the Japanese is, that no one must enter their country *without cause*, so that not even to a Dutchman is access allowed, unless he belongs to the ship's crew, or to the counting-house. Thus when, in 1804, captain Van Pabst, a military officer, accompanied his friend captain Musquetier, of the *Gesina Antoinetta*, from Batavia to Japan, being entered on the ship's muster-roll as 'passenger,' we were obliged, in spite of all I could say against it, to enter him on *our* muster-roll as 'clerk,' or 'mate' (I forget which), before he could come ashore. The amiable character of Heer Van Pabst caused his presence to be winked at; yet might he not bear the name of a 'passenger.' It may easily be imagined how affecting was the parting of the wedded pair, now condemned to a long separation. On the 2d of December, Heer Blomhoff conducted his wife, child, and nursemaid, on board the good ship *Vrouw Agatha*, in which I was to return with them to Batavia."

We may now give a brief sketch of the appearance of the people whom the voyager has come so far to visit, as they first meet his eye; some, before he even sets foot on Japanese ground,; others, standing with the head of the Dutch factory, all in full dress, to receive him as he lands. And first of their persons. The Japanese have all the organic characteristics of Mongol conformation,

the oblique position of the eye included, but they seem to be the least uncomely of that ugly race. Klaproth considers their Chinese nature to be happily modified by greater energy, muscular and intellectual. They are generally described as strong, alert, and fresh-colored; the young of both sexes as smooth-faced, rosy, and graced with abundance of fine black hair. The Dutch writers, indeed, dilate complacently upon the beauty of the young women, of which a specimen is given in a portrait in Siebold's work. The gait of both sexes is allowed to be awkward, and the women's the worst, in consequence of their bandaging their hips so tightly as to turn their feet inwards.

The ordinary dress of both sexes and all ranks is in form very similar, differing chiefly in the colors, delicacy, and value of the materials. It consists of a number of loose, wide gowns, worn over each other—those of the lower orders made of linen or calico, those of the higher generally of silk—with the family arms woven or worked into the back and breast of the outer robe, and all fastened at the waist by a girdle. The sleeves are enormous in width and length, and the portion that hangs below the arm is closed at the end, to answer the purpose of a pocket, subsidiary, however, to the capacious bosoms of the gowns, and to the girdles, where more valuable articles are deposited; amongst others, whilst clean, the neat squares of white paper, which are the Japanese substitutes for pocket-handkerchiefs, and, when used, are dropt into the sleeve, until an opportunity offers of throwing them away, without soiling the house.* This description applies to both sexes, but the ladies usually wear brighter colors than the men, and border their robes with gay embroidery or gold. Gentlemen wear a scarf over the shoulders; its length is regulated by the rank of the wearer, and serves in turn to regulate the bow with which they greet each other, inasmuch as it is indispensable to bow to a superior until the ends of the scarf touch the ground.

To this, upon occasions of full dress, is superadded what is called the garb of ceremony. It consists of a cloak, of a specific form, thrown over the other clothes. With the cloak is worn, by the higher classes, a very peculiar sort of trowsers, called *hakama*, which appears, both from the description given, and from the appearance of the article, so far as can be distinguished in the glass-cases of the Hague Museum, to be formed of an immensely full-plaited petticoat, sewed up between the legs, and left sufficiently open on the outside to admit of free locomotion. The difference of rank signalized by these petticoat-trowsers is only apparent upon occasions of ceremony: the constant criterion turns upon the wearing of swords. The higher orders wear two swords—on the same side, it should seem, and one above the other. The next in rank wear

* [The width of the sleeve causes it to hang down and appear longer than it really is, for the cuff does not usually reach beyond the wrist, where it is contracted, and forms the mouth of the pocket; the hand is drawn through this opening to take out the things in the pocket. The use of the sleeves, however, to carry articles depends very much upon a person's own fancy, the bosom and girdle being the usual repositories for whatever he wishes to carry. The family arms are also worked or dyed into the sleeves making in all five places, (viz. each arm at the elbow, each breast, and the back) where they are worn. These insignia are always worn on occasions of ceremony or etiquette, but are often omitted in garments for everyday wear.]

one; and, whether two or one, these are never, by any chance, laid aside. To the lower orders, a sword is strictly prohibited.*

Within doors, socks are the only covering of the feet. Abroad, shoes are worn, but of the most inconceivably inconvenient kind. They are represented as little more than soles of straw, mat, or wood, mainly kept on by an upright pin, held between the two principal toes, which, for this purpose, project through an appropriate aperture in the socks. The impossibility of lifting a foot thus shod in walking, may amply account for the awkward gait ascribed to the Japanese. Upon entering any house, these shoes are taken off.†

The head-dress constitutes the chief difference, in point of costume, between the sexes. The men shave the whole front and crown of the head; the rest of the hair, growing from the temples and the back of the head, is carefully gathered together, drawn upwards and forwards, and so tied as to form a sort of tuft on the bald skull. Some professions, however, deviate from this general fashion; Buddhist priests and physicians shaving off all the hair, while surgeons retain all theirs, gathered into a knot at the top of the head.

The abundant hair of the women is arranged into the form of a turban, and stuck full of pieces of fine tortoiseshell, fifteen inches long, of the thickness of a man's finger, highly wrought, and polished to look like gold. They are said to be extremely costly; and the more of them project from a lady's hair, the better she is dressed. They wear no jewellery or other trinkets. The face is painted red and white, to the utter destruction of the complexion; the lips purple, with a golden glow; in addition to this, the teeth of a Japanese married lady are blackened, and her eyebrows extirpated.

Neither men nor women wear hats, except as a protection against rain; the fan is deemed a sufficient guard from the sun; and, perhaps, nothing will more strike the newly-arrived European than this fan, which he will behold in the hand or the girdle of every human being. Soldiers and priests are no more to be seen without their fans than fine ladies, who make of theirs the use to which fans are put in other countries. In Japan, visitors receive the dainties offered them upon their fans; the beggar, imploring charity, holds out his fan

* [The whole of this ceremonial dress is called *kamishimo*. The *kami* or cloak is so made that when worn, the edges (for it has no sleeves) project beyond the shoulders so as to give them a very square form, as if the wearer had on a pair of stiff epaulettes. This dress is also worn by the common people on occasions of weddings, funerals, and the like.—How low are those orders which are prohibited from wearing a single sword does not appear to be determined. We are informed that mechanics, shopmen, artisans, &c., wear a *wagizashi*, or short sword whenever they wish to be in full dress. The sumptuary regulations regarding the use of this touchstone of Japanese honor probably differ in the various principalities. In Higo, two swords are allowed to all grades of rank; the *cho nin*, or *ignobile vulgus*, as a body, are restricted to one.]

† [The shoe most commonly worn is a sort of sandal; it is a sole kept on the foot by a strap passing over the instep, and fastened to a pin, which passes between the first and second toes. To accommodate this pin, the stocking is made like a mitten, with a division for the great toe. Shoes fitting close to the ancles, low boots, pattens, slippers, and sandals, are all made in Japan, but are not much worn; some are ceremonial garments, others form part of the priestly garb. They are made of straw (woven edgewise), wood, bark, and leather, and are sometimes shod with iron on the heels. There is no difficulty in lifting the foot up when walking in them, as we have had ample evidence from seeing hundreds of people wearing them.]

for the alms his prayers may have obtained. The fan serves the dandy in lieu of a whalebone switch; the pedagogue instead of a ferule for the offending schoolboy's knuckles; and, not to dwell too long upon the subject, a fan presented upon a peculiar kind of salver to the high-born criminal, is said to be the form of announcing his death-doom: his head is struck off at the same moment he stretches it towards the fan.

Having fairly landed the new member of the Dutch factory at Dezima, we, must now take a survey of the spot in which he is, in most cases, to be immured for the next few years of his life. Like everything in Japan, it is original, being an artificial, or rather, perhaps, a factitious island, built in the bay, after the manner of a pier or breakwater. The very object of its construction was to serve as a place of confinement, although not for the Dutch.

When the Japanese government began to entertain jealousy and dislike of foreigners, the first measure taken, at the instigation of those feelings, was so to situate them that they could conveniently be watched. For this purpose, the Europeans and their commerce were restricted to the two ports of Nagasaki and Firado [or Hirado], at which last place the Dutch factory was then established. The next step was to confine the Portuguese more closely still; with this view was their abode projected, and the island of Dezima directed to be built from the bottom of the sea. The emperor's pleasure being asked as to the form of the future island, he unfolded the ever actively employed fan; and accordingly, in the shape of a fan without the sticks upon which a fan is mounted, was the island constructed. When the Portuguese were finally expelled, the Dutch were transferred from Firado to their prison-house. Dezima is about 600 feet in length by 240 across, and is situated a few yards only distant from the shore, close upon which stands the town of Nagasaki. The island and town are connected by a stone bridge, but a high wall prevents the dwellers in either from seeing those in the other. The view of the bay, teeming with life and bustle, seems indeed to be open to the factory, secluded as they are; but the view is a distant one only, no Japanese boat being permitted to approach the island within a certain prescribed distance, marked by a stockade. The bridge is closed by a gate and guard-house, constantly occupied by a body of police and soldiers, who alike prevent the Dutch from quitting their island without permission, and debar the access of Japanese visitors, save and except the appointed individuals, and those at the appointed hours. Neither Dutch nor Japanese may pass the gate without being searched. The sea-gate is similarly watched, though with a police force only when opened, which it never is, except for intercourse with the Dutch ships, whilst in the harbor. The name given to the island implies 'Fore island,' or 'Ante island;' the word *zima* meaning 'island,' and *de*, 'fore' or 'ante.'*

The number of European residents in this singular island is now limited to eleven. They consist of the *opperhoofd*, head or president of the factory, called by the Japanese *Holanda*, or *Horanda Capitan;* a warehouse-master; a secretary, or in plain mercantile English, a book-keeper; a physician; five

* [A drawing of this artificial island as given in Titsingh's Annals, is named by the Japanese artist, 出島阿蘭陀屋鋪景 *Dezima Horanda iye funo kei*, or View of Dezima. [with] the dwellings and shops of the Hollanders. The characters employed to write Dezima mean 'projecting island,' as also does the Japanese name, *de* (or *dera*) to project, and *zima* an island.]

clerks,* and two warehousemen. Foreign domestics they are not allowed, such being evidently unnecessary, as they can be waited upon by Japanese; and, after a fashion, so they are, that is to say, whilst the sun is above the horizon. But the attendance to which Europeans are accustomed, especially in Asiatic colonies, is of course but very imperfectly supplied by men who can scarcely be termed domestics, since so little are they domesticated with their masters, as not to be suffered to sleep in those masters' houses. The Japanese servants of the factory must leave the island at sunset, and prove that they do so, by presenting themselves at the appointed time to the proper authorities at the bridge watch-house; nor, it is said, can any emergency, not the most dangerous illness of a Dutch master, excuse the violation of this rule.

The utter destitution of attendance, in which every member of the factory is thus left, during half his time, "without the means of even getting the tea-kettle boiled for his evening tea," is pathetically and earnestly dwelt upon by one of the recent writers, in apology for the immoral connexions which his countrymen are, he avers, actually compelled to form in Japan; and the singularity of everything appertaining or relating to this very extraordinary country must excuse the bringing forward an offensive topic.

It appears that the only individual Japanese exempt from the necessity of quiting Dezima at sunset, are women who have forfeited the first claim of their sex to respect or esteem, whilst no female of good character is at any time permitted to set foot in the island, as is announced in the plainest and coarsest terms by a public proclamation, near the bridge-gate. From this unhappy and degraded class alone, therefore, can the Dutch procure either female servants or constant attendance. The consequences, in their irksome situation, deprived for years of all family society, need not be told. The progeny of the Dutch by these women are considered as altogether Japanese. As such, they must not be born in Dezima; and it is probably to guard against illegal births, that the women are bound to present themselves, once in every twenty-four hours, to the police-officer in command at the bridge. An incidental mention, by Doeff, of the women and children, shows that the mothers are permitted to nurse their infants in the houses of the fathers; but at a very early age, these half-caste children are subjected to restrictions in their intercourse with their fathers, similar to those imposed upon the intercourse of all natives with foreigners; and the only indulgence granted to the paternal feelings of the Dutch consists in the permission to receive a few specified visits from their offspring at certain intervals, (whether this permission extends to their daughters is not stated,) and to provide for their education and support through life. The fathers are frequently allowed, if not required, to purchase for their adult Japanese sons some office under government, at Nagasaki or elsewhere.

As no Japanese may be born in Dezima, so may none die there; although how this is avoided in cases of sudden death is not explained. It may be conjectured, however, that the remedy is sought in the underhand course termed *naïbon* by

* Some discrepancy as to numbers exists between Doeff and Fischer; and as the former wrote only from recollection, while the latter had all his Dezima papers before him, the warehouse-master's authority has been preferred. It may be said, once for all, that in such trifling disagreements in statements or orthography, the writer who appears best informed, and especially Dr. Von Siebold, has always been followed.

the Japanese (which means the professed concealment of something generally known), and of the strange and incessant use of which much will have to be said hereafter. Thus appearances may, perhaps, be saved by concealing the death, and removing the deceased, as though still alive, to the place where he may lawfully die. This would be merely absurd; but it is a more revolting idea, that such precipitate transportation may occasionally take place ere the vital spark be quite extinct, and the time which, judiciously employed, would have saved life, be wasted in conveying the sufferer to a legal death-bed. But the loss or preservation of life are trifles in Japanese estimation.

The dwellings in this singular species of prison are not given to the prisoners by government, nor even the use of the ground, whereon to erect habitations at their pleasure. The houses appear to have been built by citizens of Nagasaki, upon speculation, and the Dutch pay for them an exorbitant rent fixed by authority. They are, however, permitted to furnish them according to their own taste, and either to procure furniture, in the European style from Java, or to have it made by their own direction in Japan; and so dextrous, ingenious, and patiently persevering are the Japanese handicraftsmen, that they rarely fail to execute anything they undertake, how different soever from the articles they are accustomed to produce. They are said, however, occasionally to require from their customers patience similar to their own, as no money will induce them to incroach upon the hours allotted to meals, rest, or recreation.

But the artificers they are to employ, or the tradesmen with whom they are to deal, the members of the factory are not permitted to choose for themselves. Purveyors are officially appointed in some departments, and the prices at which they are to serve the factory with their several wares are fixed by government fifty per cent. above the regular market-prices; a rate of charge avowedly intended in part to defray the expenses incident to the safe custody of the strangers. For other departments there is an appointed purchaser (still called by his Portuguese name of *comprador*), who buys every unprohibited article that the Dutch may desire to possess; and these purchases, when made, they have no money to pay for. Whether as a preventive of bribery, or for what other motive this restriction be imposed, appears not; but to the Dutch, all money transactions, and even the possession of money, are prohibited. The cargoes of the Dutch ships, when landed, are delivered to Japanese authorities, who sell the imported merchandize, employ the price in paying for the goods to be exported, and give in their unchecked accounts to the Dutch president. Even the private adventures allowed to the members of the factory, in compensation for their inadequate salaries, are thus disposed of, and the returns procured. The remaining accounts of the purveyors and *compradors*, against every individual member, are settled out of the proceeds of these annual sales. The purveyors, the *comprador*, a Japanese physician, (appointed provisionally to act in case of the Dutch physician's illness, death, or absence), a professor of the Japanese remedy of acupuncture, and the known servants, are respectively furnished with seals, or passes, that authorize their ingress and egress to and from Dezima, at the lawful hours. But all these persons are obliged, prior to entering upon their offices, to sign, with their blood, an oath binding them to contract no friendship with any of the Dutch; to afford them no information respecting the language, laws, manners, religion, or history of Japan; in short to hold no communication with them, except in their several

recognized functions. No individual except those abovementioned, and the officers and interpreters employed by government, can enter Dezima without an express permission from the governor of Nagasaki: but it is said, that any Japanese visitor, who wishes to obtain admittance without this formality, can usually succeed by bribery, passing as the servant of some one of the sanctioned or official visitors.

The due observance of all these regulations and restrictions is enforced and watched over by the municipal officers and police of Nagasaki, a certain number of whom, with a proportionate allowance of interpreters, are always upon the island. Houses are there assigned them, but there appears to be little occasion for more than a station-house or guard-room, the whole being relieved every twenty-four hours.

The interpreters constitute one of the regular corporations, or guilds, of Nagasaki, and receive salaries from the siogoun, or emperor. From sixty to seventy of the body, reckoning superior and inferior, are formally appointed Dutch interpreters; and a yet larger number are assigned to the Chinese factory, which, like the Dutch, is confined to a spot adjoining Nagasaki. But even these appointed Dutch interpreters are forbidden to communicate freely with the factory; they must not visit the president, or any of his inferior countrymen, unless accompanied by a municipal officer, or, according to Fischer, by a spy. But although the whole administration of Japan seems to be a system of *espionage*, as will appear hereafter, it is hardly to be supposed that the spies, upon whose relations this cautious government depends for information, can be so publicly known as to be in official attendance. It is far more likely, that some of the menial servants of the factory act in the secondary capacity of spies, reporting the conduct of municipal officers and interpreters, as well as of their masters. This conjecture is confirmed by the information, that all these servants understand Dutch, which does not seem to be the case with the police or municipal officers.

Whilst the Dutch vessels remain in the bay, and the business of unloading, procuring a cargo, reloading, and all therennto appertaining, is going on, a good deal of consequent negociation and intercourse takes place betwixt the president and the governor and his subordinates; and some diversity of opinion exists between the Dutch and the German writers, as to the degree of politeness which, upon this and other formal occasions, marks the behavior of the Japanese. Dr. Von Siebold avers, that the Dutch *opperhoofd* still submits to very humiliating insults and contemptuous treatment; attributing such submission, however, to a patriotic anxiety for the preservation to Holland of a very profitable trade, not to any individual lnore of gain; whilst most of the Dutchmen, on the other hand, affirm, that they receive every mark of consideration and respect that could reasonably be expected or desired, and hold the trade to be of little value. The accounts given by the Dutch presidents of their intercourse with, and treatment by, the different Japanese placemen with whom they came in contact, will enable the reader to judge between these opposite views. One preliminary observation may, however, afford a key to the conduct of this haughty, but not conceited, nation. The Japanese nobles and placemen, even of secondary rank, entertain a sovereign contempt for traffic; whence it may be inferred, that the head or director of a commercial establishment cannot expect to be treated by them as their equal. And that this is the light in which

they, not unjustly, regard the Dutch *opperhoofd*, is proved by the adaptation to that gentleman of their sumptuary law respecting swords. This mark of dignity is strictly prohibited to all Japanese traders; and the wealthiest can no otherwise free himself from this degradation, imposed by these sumptuary laws, of appearing unarmed, than by prevailing upon some indigent noble, whose necessities his purse has relieved, to enter his (the merchant's) name, upon the list of his (the nobleman's) servants; when the titular domestic is permitted, in his servile capacity, to wear a single sword. Now of the whole Dutch factory, the president alone is permitted even to wear a sword, and even he is allowed but one, and that one to be worn only upon state occasions; all of which, be it remembered, has no reference either to nation or to person, but is absolutely and solely the test and mark of station, or rather perhaps of class:—can the man who may only wear a sword at all upon particular specified occasions, expect to be placed on a footing of equality with him who wears two, or even with him who wears one at his own pleasure, that is to say, always?

There is, however, one very important point in the treatment of the Dutch in Japan, respecting which all the late writers agree in correcting the mistaken impression prevalent in Europe. This point is their religion, which, if they are not allowed openly to profess by practicing its rites—because these are acts prohibited by irrevocable Japanese law—they are not, now at least, required to deny and to insult, by trampling upon a picture of the Virgin and infant Savior. That they ever did sully the Christian name by submitting to this sacrilegious humiliation, to which thousands of Japanese martyrs preferred death, rests solely upon the authority of their expelled commercial rivals, the Portuguese, and that of the hostile Jesuits; corroborated, indeed, by the contempt which the Dutch, at the period of their obtaining their first charter, A D 1611, in the midst of the persecution of the native Christians and the missionaries, appear to have incurred from the Japanese, by a supple compliance with every requisition. The question thus limited can be of little interest to any but Dutch feelings; still, what is known of the history of this singular ceremony of abjuration, and of the treatment of the Dutch relative to religion, both of yore and at present, is too characteristic of Japanese nature to be omitted.

From the first visits of the Portuguese to Japan, up to the latter end of the sixteenth century, Christianity and the missionary labors of the Jesuits enjoyed there a toleration so complete as to be almost unaccountable in a country in which the authority of the nominal autocrat sovereign, the *mikado** essentially

* These two sovereigns are very improperly called by European writers the spiritual and temporal emperors. The *mikado* is the acknowledged emperor, absolute alike in spiritual and temporal affairs: the *siogoun* is a military chief, professedly the vicegerent or lieutenant of the emperor. Klaproth says, the Japanese, when the meaning of the title "emperor" was explained to them, were indignant at its being applied to the *sivgoun*, and said there was no emperor but the *mikado*. Hence, it seems difficult to designate these two potentates, except by their Japanese titles. [The first of these two personages has a great number of titles. He is commonly called *kubo* (or *kubo sama*, i. e. lord kubo), *kinri* and *woü*, or *woü sama; daïri*, *mikado*, or *sora mikado*, are two other titles meaning emperor. The Chinese characters for *kubo* are 公方 and *kinri* also means the palace, applied by metonymy to its inmate. *Daïri* is 帝, which is also sometimes read *mikado*; but 天子 (literally, the 'son of heaven,') are the characters for *sora mikado*. Miyako, the residence of the *kubo* is not so much

rests upon its religion; the *mikado* reigning solely as the acknowledged descendant and representative of the gods. In consequence of this toleration, the missionaries were so successful, that, according to the reports made by the Jesuits to their superiors in Rome, there were in Japan, prior to the breaking out of the civil wars that produced the prohibition of Christianity, 200,000 native Christians, amongst whom were found princes, generals, and the flower of the nobility. Nay, a few years later, the heir of the siogounship is said to have been half a convert; whilst the numbers of the Jesuits' flock increased rapidly, even by hundreds of thousands, during the whole of those civil wars and the early period of the persecution.

A legal persecution, modified by much connivance—according to the Japanese *naïbon* system—lasted for years, until in 1637, a rebellion broke out in the principality of Arima, the population of which was chiefly Christian. The cause and character of this rebellion are variously represented by the Dutch and Portuguese* authorities. According to the latter, it originated in the persecution of his Christian subjects by a newly-appointed heathen prince; whilst the Dutch represent it as provoked solely by the tyranny and extortion of that new prince, and altogether unconnected with religious differences; and Siebold, who may be considered as neutral, without saying anything as to its origin, calls it "the unsuccessful insurrection of the Christians;" and assuredly the probability is, that religion was the impelling cause of the insurrection in question. Persecution of native Christians, with the penalty of death denounced against all who refused the test of trampling upon the effigy of the Virgin and the infant Redeemer, was even then the law of the land, and would naturally afford both the pretext and the means of a newly-appointed heathen ruler's tyranny and extortion. Be this as it may, after a long struggle, the prince drove the insurgents into the peninsula of Simabara, and finding himself unable there to subdue them, he, with the full sanction of the *siogoun*, called upon the Dutch to bring their armed vessels and artillery to his assistance. Kockebekker was at that time the head of the Dutch factory, then established at Firado, and most prosperous amidst the great privileges granted by the original charter, and the liberty enjoyed under the protection of

the name of a place, as a term for the city where he lives; it is also called *kioto* (in Chinese 京都) and means the 'capital city.' The Japanese who were with Klaproth, of course felt that one of the above titles 皇 *woü*, could not with any propriety be applied to the *siogoun*, but the possession of the title of emperor does not infer that he has the power of one. The *siogoun* (in Chinese 將軍 or general) is the real ruler of the emperor; he is in common parlance, likewise called 天下 *tenka* or *tenka sama*, and lives at Yedo. The title of the reign of the present monarch is 天保 *Tenpo*.]

* The mutual recriminations of the Dutch and Portuguese, who impute to each other the exclusion of foreigners from Japan, are not now worth investigating. It is likely enough that the progress of the Jesuits, and the acknowledgment of the pope's authority by their converts, should have alarmed the government, and the Dutch should have fomented any ill-will towards commercial rivals, who, being then united to Spain, were their political as well as their religious enemies, if such contradictory ideas may be combined. But the paper upon Japanese history will show that there needed no caballing to impel a usurper to measures which he deemed conducive to his own interest.

the kindly-disposed prince of Firado. Kockebekker obeyed the summons with the single man-of-war at his disposal, and the Dutch artillery decided the fate of the unfortunate Christian insurgents at Simabara. This civil war is said to have cost forty thousand lives; and the prince's triumph was followed by the rigid enforcement, throughout the empire, of the laws against Christians, the vanquished rebels being the first victims.

This compliance with a Japanese requisition to act as auxiliaries against their fellow-Christians, the Dutch writers vindicate upon the plea of the civil war not having been a religious war, although they do not deny the Christianity of the unhappy rebels shut up in Simabara. The real apology, however, probably lies in their not irrational dread that their own lives might pay the forfeit of disobedience, to a mandate sanctioned by the emperor. It is not improbable that this very compliance, by satisfying the government of the truth of their assertion, that though the Dutch were Christians, their Christianity was not the Christianity of the Portuguese, won their exemption from the general exclusion. They were, however, then removed from Firado and liberty to the vacated Portuguese prison at Dezima.

But this subject of the persecution must not be dismissed without a tribute of admiration to the heroic constancy with which the Japanese converts adhered, under every trial, to the faith they had adopted. Every native Christian was now put to the test of trampling on the image of his Redeemer; and the Jesuits assert that scarce an instance of apostacy occurred, whilst incredible numbers voluntarily embraced martyrdom, as inflicted with a refinement of barbarity not unfrequent in Japanese executions, and often reminding the reader of that rivalry in infliction and endurance between the torturer and the tortured, so common amongst the red men of North America. When the Japanese were weary of torturing and slaughtering—and such weariness seems to belong as little to the national idiosyncrasy as mercy—the remaining multitudes were locked up in prisons, there kept at hard work upon wretched fare, and annually offered wealth and freedom as the price of abjuring Christianity in the prescribed form. The offer was annually rejected, until the last Japanese Christian had died off.

Even to the present day, every native Japanese, or according to Doeff, only every native of Nagasaki and the adjoining principalities, is required thus to prove his non-Christianity. The trampling ceremony is performed annually upon a certain festival-day of the national religion, to wit, the fourth after their new-year's day; and so universal is it, and must it be, that bedridden invalids, and even infants in arms, are made to touch the picture with their feet. But the regular ceremony is now confined to natives, and upon other occasions the trampling appears to be only used as a test to ascertain the religion, or rather the non-Christianity, of strangers.*

So far from any member of the Dutch factory being required to participate in

* [The time for performing this ceremony appears to vary in different parts of the country. In Simabara and Amakusa, which now form a portion of the principality of Fisen, but anciently of Arima, the ceremony commences on the fourth of the first month, and is continued through the month on any day according to the wish of the magistrate; in Figo, the principality adjoining to Fisen, it is usually performed in the third month. In Simahara and the other last refuges of the persecuted Christians, the custom is said to be kept up with the utmost strictness; in Satzuma, and the principalities of Nippon, the custom is not, according to our informants, observed with so much severity. Traces of Catholicism still remain in the po-

this revolting ceremony we are positively assured, that those among them who felt curious to witness an abjuration of Christianity, concerning which they had heard so much, have been unable to gratify their wishes; and all that is told upon this subject in the recent publications is given purely on the authority of Japanese acquaintance. In addition to these statements, an anecdote is told relative to this matter, which occurred soon after Doeff's arrival, and is highly illustrative of the kindly feeling now entertained by the Japanese towards their Dutch guests, as well as of their habitual forbearance with respect to religion, and of their general politeness.

"In November, 1801, whilst Heer Wardenaar was *opperhoofd*, and I warehouse-master," says Doeff, "a small brig was wrecked upon the Goto islands, and brought to Nagasaki for examination.* The governor of the city requested the *opperhoofd*, together with the secretaries, M. Mak and D. H. Libake, to attend the examination in the government-house. The brig's crew consisted of a Malay man and wife, a young boy, and two maid-servants of the same nation, a black Papuan, a Chinese, and a Cochinchinese. The brig was evidently Portuguese, and the crew unanimously declared that she had sailed from Portuguese Timor, bound for Amboyna; but that the captain and all the officers having died upon the voyage, they, the survivors, had found themselves so unable to manage the vessel, that they could only let her drive, trusting to Providence; and had thus, in the end, run upon the Goto islands. Hereupon the governor requested all the Hollanders who were present to withdraw for a moment. They thought this strange; but soon learned from the chief interpreter, that the governor, not knowing these people, was bound by his orders to make them trample upon the images; but, to avoid giving the Hollanders offense, had wished that this should not be done in their presence. This ceremony over, the Hollanders were invited to return. Hence it is manifest that the Japanese know and respect our religious opinions. Further, that they no longer practice such overstrained severity towards others as they did in times past, appears from the sequel. Although it was clear that the brig's crew were Roman Catholics, the governor, out of compassion for the shipwrecked wretches, sent the Malays and Papuan to us in Dezima, confining them, however, in an old house, inclosed with bamboos, and watched by a Japanese guard; whilst the Chinese and Cochinchinese were similarly confined in the island inhabited by the Chinese factory, there to wait until, according to the commands from court, the latter could be conveyed to China by the junks, and the former in our ship *Matilda Maria*, to Batavia (1802). It there appeared but too certain, that the brig had sailed from Timor for Macao,

pular legends of the inhabitants of Kiusiu, some of them being connected with the last struggle in Simabara. There is, according to one of these traditions, a set of people called *gedo*, who are supposed to worship the images of the *kirisitano*, or Christians, and refuse to trample on the picture or cross; by this means, they acquire great influence with spirits, who furnish them with money, succor them in danger, and otherwise befriend them. They keep their images concealed in the walls of houses, and perform their ceremonies in the privacy of the night; if they consent to trample, or fail in their rites, the aid of the spirits is withheld.]

* Every wrecked vessel, or, if it is incapable of floating, its crew, must be brought to Nagasaki, however distant the scene of its misfortune. This is carried so far, that even the vessels of Japanese dependencies, as of the Lewchew Islands, and Corea, are conveyed thither for examination, and there detained until they can be sent home.

and that the above-named crew had murdered the captain and other officers, in order to possess themselves of the vessel, which they proved unable to manage. They were thereupon sent to Macao, where they suffered the punishment of their crime."

Having thus imparted all the information that recent authors afford upon this important point, turn we to the forms flattering or offensive, observed in the official intercourse that takes place betwixt the Dutch and Japanese authorities; citing them from the Dutch writers. President Meylan, who was last in Japan of any of the late writers, and who seems the least confident of his countrymen as to the honors paid him, considers it as a prodigious privilege, that the chief police-officer and the burgomaster of Nagasaki, when they have business with the head of the factory, repair to his house, instead of summoning him to their tribunal in the island; and he proceeds thus to describe this official visit.

"Upon such occasions, the president is bound, in expectation of their arrival, to spread a carpet, to provide liqueurs and sweetmeats to be offered at the proper time, to await the high dignitary * at his own door; and, when the said high dignitary has seated himself, in Japanese fashion, on his heels on the carpet, to squat himself down in like manner, bowing his head two or three times to the ground, and thus making his *compliment*, as it is termed here. In all this I should see nothing, it being the usual mode in which Japanese grandees receive and salute each other; but here, in my mind, lies the offense, that between Japanese this compliment is reciprocated, whilst, at an interview between a Netherlander and a Japanese grandee of the rank of a *gobanyosi*, the compliment of the former is not returned by the latter, he being esteemed an exceedingly friendly burgomaster or *gobanyosi*, who even nods his head to the Netherlander in token of approval. All this is the more striking to the Netherlander newly landed at Dezima, and not yet used to the custom, because he observes the Japanese to be amongst themselves full of ceremony and demonstrations of politeness, in which the nation yields to no other, not even to the French. Another custom is worth observing. It is, that a Japanese grandee, from the rank of a *gobanyosi* upwards, never speaks directly to a Netherlander, but always through the medium of an interpreter. This might be supposed an unavoidable inconvenience, the parties being unable otherwise to understand each other; but such cannot be the cause. There have been many presidents who, having themselves diligently studied the Japanese language, had acquired sufficient knowledge to express themselves intelligibly. There have even been some who, passing by the interpreters have directly addressed the high Japanese dignitary in Japanese, but in vain. The man made as though he understood not, and referred him to the interpreter for what was to be said. I conclude hence, that this custom is a point of Japanese *etiquette*, not intended to do the highest honor to the Netherlanders; and I am confirmed in this suspicion by the increase in the number of intermediate speakers in the president's audiences of the governor. The governor speaks to his secretary, the secretary to the interpreter, the interpreter to the president; and, reversing the order, the president to the interpreter, the interpreter to the secretary, and the secretary again to the governor

* Dr. Von Siebold avers, and his statement appears to be consonant with probability and analogy, that a *gobanyosi*, or superior police-officer, is by no means a high dignitary in Japanese estimation.

"The *opperhoofd* (president) has two audiences every year of the governor of Nagasaki; the one on occasion of presenting the *fassak*, acknowledgment or tribute, which the Dutch government annually transmits to the Japanese rulers; the other on that of the sailing of the ships. This is the regulated dialogue always repeated on these occasions.

ON OFFERING THE FASSAK.

'*The President.* It is in the highest degree gratifying to me to meet the lord-governor in perfect health, and I congratulate him thereon. I also owe thanks for the assistance which his lordship has again this year afforded the Netherlanders in matters of trade, and, therefore, in the name of the lord governor-general of Batavia, are the goods offered as a present to his lordship, which, according to old custom, are destined for his lordship, and enumerated in the list that I have already delivered.

'*The Governor.* It is very agreeable to me to see the president well, on which, as well as on the happy dispatch of matters of trade, I congratulate him, and accept thankfully the present that according to old custom, is offered me in the name of the high government of Batavia. As the time for the departure of the ships is now at hand, the president will have to take care that they are speedily in readiness to sail, and as soon as they are so ready, make it known to the governor.

'*The President.* It is an honor to me that the lord governor has accepted the present offered him. I shall take care that the ships are speedily ready for their departure, and not neglect to make it known to the governor as soon as they are ready.'

"The audience over, the president repairs to another room, and asks leave to pay a separate visit to the secretaries. The secretaries come, the usual compliment is paid, and the following short dialogue ensues:

'*The President.* It is gratifying to me to see Messrs. the Secretaries well, and I thank them for the trouble they have been good enough to take about the trade.

'*The first Secretary* (*in the name of both*). We also are glad to see the president well, and wish him so to continue.'

AT THE AUDIENCE OF DEPARTURE.

'*The President.* After having wished the lord-governor his health, I make known to his lordship, that the day after to-morrow, the 20th, the ships will remove to the Papenberg; they being, thanks to the assistance afforded by the lord-governor, ready to depart.

(In obedience to an imperial edict, the Dutch ships are bound to quit the harbor of Nagasaki, whether ready or not, on the 20th of the ninth Japanese month. They may, however, under color of waiting for a fair wind, lie yet awhile at anchor under the Papenberg, and there take what is still wanting of their cargo. The audience of departure, therefore, always takes place on the 18th of the ninth Japanese month.)

'*The Governor.* It is satisfactory to me that the ships are ready to sail, and the president is desired to let them depart on the coming 20th; I will now read what, according to the imperial commands, the president has to do further, and the president will listen.

'*The President.* I thank the lord-governor for the leave granted to depart, and will listen to the imperial commands.

(The governor then reads in Japanese, and the interpreter in Dutch, a document the purport of which is that if the Dutch desire the continuance of their trade

with Japan, they must neither bring Portuguese thither, nor hold intercourse with Portuguese, but make known to the governor of Nagasaki whatever they can learn respecting Portuguese hostile designs against Japan, and must respect such Chinese junks as are bound for Japan, as well as all vessels belonging to the Lewchew islands, they being subject to Japan. This done, the dialogue is thus resumed:)

'*The Governor.* These imperial commands you will duly observe, and the president will moreover command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave well.

'*The President.* I shall duly observe the imperial commands made known to me, and communicate them to the high government at Batavia. Moreover, I will command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave well.'

"The present always consists of a vessel of *sake*, and of two trays, one of sea-fish, the other of seaweed."

This may complete the sketch of life at Dezima; and a few words only need be added touching death there, which is permitted to the Dutch, though not to the Japanese. The grounds belonging to one specific temple are assigned to the factory, as their place of sepulture. They pay a yearly sum to the temple, but rather in the form of a gratuitous offering than as the price of their privilege. The forms of burial are, of course, not Christian; but the dead are treated with respect. The priests of the temple assigned to the Dutch perform the same rites at the funeral of the deceased stranger, and take the same care of his grave and monument, as though he had been their fellow-countryman and fellow-religionist.

ART. VIII. *The Chinese Vindicated, or another view of the opium question; being in reply to a pamphlet by Samuel Warren esq. F. R. S., barrister at law in the Middle Temple.* By captain T. H. Bullock, h. p. the Nizam's army. London, 1840.

ALWAYS and uniformly, so far as we could do it by sound arguments, have we opposed the intemperate use of opium, and the illegal traffic in it. Always and uniformly, too, have we vindicated the Chinese, whenever we have seen them falsely represented or wrongfully attacked. The wellbeing of the Chinese is an object no doubt as dear to us as it is to capt. Bullock; and one which we ardently desire to promote, in all the ways and by all the means we can, consistently with truth and justice, and in obedience to those highest requisitions given for the regulation of human conduct. However well-intentioned capt. Bullock may have been, we must differ somewhat from him, and very widely on a few points. We cannot concur in all his sen-

rences of condemnation, nor in all the strains of his vindication. Truth and justice both forbid it. And if in Mr. Warren's book we found some things of which we could not approve, in capt. Bullock's we find no less. Long have we desired to see the Chinese fairly and ably vindicated, from the many false and erroneous representations that have been made respecting them. Their character in all its forms and features, their government, whether "wise and just" or base and corrupt,—in a word, all that pertains to this people as a nation, their virtues and their vices, their good and their bad qualities, their customs, &c., we desire to see them all portrayed in their proper forms and in their true light. In the performance of this difficult task, capt. Bullock has not been very successful: the title of his book is a misnomer; he should have called it, what in truth it is, "The condemnation of *British* merchants in China."

In his opening paragraph, capt. Bullock says, that, "Had Mr. Warren adhered to his original plan, and been content 'with showing cause why' the guaranty, spontaneously offered by captain Elliot, should be recognized and redeemed, and the merchants indemnified, I should have had nothing to say to him; but he 'travels out of his record,' and with many hard words, calls upon the English nation to make the quarrel her own; and to avenge upon the Chinese the long series of 'injuries, insults, and indignities' offered to England, in the person of her subjects, by the government of the celestial empire; and especially he requires, that we should exact redress and remuneration for the late seizure and confiscation of opium in Canton; and for the confinement of the English merchants, then and there residing. It will be my endeavor to show," captain Bullock continues to remark, "that the uniform conduct of the Chinese, during an intercourse of nearly two hundred years, has been marked by an *undeviating forbearance from injury*, and that for the last forty years this forbearance has been exercised under continual and unexampled provocation, in that our merchants during this period had been guilty of a systematic violation of the known laws of the realm, and had introduced into the celestial empire a pernicious drug, destructive to life and injurious to morals. I shall show moreover that when in self-defense the Chinese government, after reiterated prohibition and warning, was reluctantly compelled to assert the majesty of law, and by an overt act to prove its detestation of the contraband trade in opium, and its just and righteous determination to abolish the plague for ever, it carried out this necessary measure with a singular regard to humanity, and with as little injury to person and

property as was consistent with the end in view, and although an arbitrary government, with much less severity and risk of fatal results, than would have been exercised or incurred by our own, or any other Christian and civilized government in Europe;" and, he adds, "I propose to prove this as the result of plain and inevitable deductions from known and admitted historical and cotemporary facts, which in a court of law no judge would dispute, nor any lawyer be able to controvert."

Now in good truth, had capt. Bullock 'adhered to *his* original plan,' and been content with *vindicating the Chinese*, showing wherein they are blamable or praiseworthy, we should have had nothing to say to him, except perhaps to have tendered to him our best thanks; but when he 'travels out of his record,' and, 'with many hard words,' calls upon the English *nation* to repudiate the acts of its representative, and to take the losses caused by its own imperial parliament and agents, and lay them on the shoulders of a few individuals, it then becomes the duty of the public journalist to point out the wrong, and to remonstrate with those who would inflict it.

Had captain Bullock simply quoted the words of Mr. Jardine, as expressed at a public farewell dinner given to him in Canton the 23d of January, 1839, those few words alone would have been a better *vindication* than all he has written in his book. Mr. J. said:

"I have been a long time in this country, and I have a few words to say in its favor: here we find our persons more effectually protected by the laws than in many other parts of the East, or of the world. In China, a foreigner may go to sleep with his windows open, without being in dread of losing either his life or his property, which are well guarded by a most watchful and excellent police, while both are periled with little or no protection in many other states; business is conducted with unexampled facility, and in general with singular good faith, though there are of course occasional exceptions, which only the more strikingly bear out my assertion; neither would I omit the general courtesy of the Chinese in all their intercourse and transactions with foreigners; these and some other considerations are the reasons why so many of us so often revisit this country, and stay in it so long."

What we chiefly complain of in capt. Bullock is this, that he takes all 'the iniquities of the opium-trade' and casts them on the heads of the *British* merchants and the superintendent in China—exculpating all other merchants here, their constituents in India, the honorable the East India Company, the British parliament, and the English nation,—and, consequently, urging that the superintendent's acts should be disowned, and the factors left to sustain alone the losses caused in part by their principals not in China. This we think is unfair and unjust.

When commissioner Lin arrived in Canton in March, 1839, he directed his communications, 'to the foreigners of *every* nation,' as the local authorities had always done, when the business in hand concerned foreign commerce. In the case of opium, all foreigners, except perhaps the Dutch, were alike implicated. As the greater part of the whole commerce of the port was in the hands of *British* merchants, so by far the greater part of the opium, when its surrender was called for, was found in their hands. Certainly we have no wish to conceal or extenuate the iniquities of this traffic, but justice requires that they be fairly put to the account of those who are their authors. This capt. Bullock has not done, for he has charged the whole 'to her majesty's subjects resident in China.'

A perusal of the parliamentary papers, occasioned by the last renewal of the charter of the East I. Company, long ago convinced us that the responsibilities of the opium trade, between India and China, must rest mainly and ultimately on those who were the principals in bringing it into being—the British authorities in India and the home government in England, and through them the people, the nation. The correctness of this view, however, has been often doubted. "I protest," says captain Bullock, "that I think the Chinese government would have grossly insulted England, if it had assumed for one moment, which it never did, that the English nation, as a nation, had sanctioned or tolerated the conduct of the contraband dealers in opium. Where lies the first great error? It was committed when captain Elliot, his own solemn asseverations to the contrary notwithstanding, appeared *to identify the English nation* with the criminal cause of the smugglers. This was the greatest insult, and the only one, that was offered to England. Shall we perpetuate this fatal error, and revisit the insult upon ourselves, by asserting the unholy cause of men, who for their own sordid purposes, have not only inundated with a poisonous and destructive drug, a country from which for two hundred years we had drawn enormous commercial advantages, and introduced the new vice of intoxication in its most revolting form, amongst a sober and industrious people; but have carried on this intrinsically nefarious traffic, by a system of evasion of the known laws of the realm, maintained by gross bribery and fraud?" *See p.* 105.

What precisely capt. Bullock would have his readers understand by 'the English nation, as a nation,' he does not say; but surely he cannot suppose, when commissioner Lin required the British representative to surrender into his hands all British owned opium, and

subsequently charged the said officer and the commanders of the ships-of-war with affording protection to that traffic, that the Chinese government did not assume that the British government both tolerated and sanctioned the trade in opium;—for, according to his own showing, capt. Elliot had already '*appeared to identify the English nation*' with it. And 'this fatal error,' of identification, belongs not alone to the superintendent. Had he, after the arrival of the high commissioner, kept himself aloof from the parties concerned in the traffic, or succeeded, as we think he would like to have done, in separating that traffic from the legitimate trade, so as to have preserved the latter, his government would perhaps have approved of his conduct; but surely that government did not desire to see the trade in opium checked. Of his conduct, however far it went 'to identify the English nation with the criminal cause,' his government,—both the ministry and the leading members of parliament,—have expressed their approbation. According to the speech of the duke of Wellington, the government of Great Britain has been privy to, and approving of the traffic from first to last. Nay, after all of the action of last year, and the 'letters' of commissioner Lin to the queen, what says her chief adviser on this grave subject! Why, 'we possess immense territories, peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though I could wish the government were not *so directly concerned in the traffic*, I am not prepared to pledge myself to relinquish it." So declared lord Melbourne to the assembled representatives of his country, on the 12th of last May.

But what says capt. T. H. Bullock, R. N. the Nizam's army? He says, "I protest that I think [mark that, *I think*,] the Chinese government would have grossly insulted England, if it had *assumed* for one moment" . . . . . what! Just precisely what the prime minister of England, one of her majesty's chief counselors, allows, and avows, and regrets, and (mark this captain Bullock,) *is not prepared to relinquish.*

A word or two must be here entered respecting the indemnity, for which these 'audacious criminals' are asking, and which the government of Great Britain has promised to pay, and must pay, or the merchants must lose. The promise is clear and plain. "But is England to partake in their crimes, and to participate in their infamy? Is she to lavish her treasures and her blood in a cause, which, morally speaking, is wholly indefensible?" So interrogates capt. Bullock. *See p.* 106. Not so the duke of Wellington. See his remarks in a former article, on page 253 of this number: he there

states that, in the report of the parliamentary committee, on the late renewal of the charter, *it was particularly observed that it was desirable the opium trade should be continued.*

Read also the following sentence, which we quote from an article in Blackwood's Magazine, for March 1840, p. 381.

"The claim of the merchants to indemnity in full for the opium surrendered to order, not under promise of payment only, but against actual bills or certificates drawn on the treasury by its accredited agent, and passed by the payees to account, rest not however on, and have no necessary connection with, the profit-and-loss calculation of the opium trade, as it affects the government and the nation. Whether its continuance be wise or unwise, be honorable or disgraceful, be gainful or prejudicial, may be a fair subject for present or future deliberation; but the determination, whatever it be, cannot be brought to bear, like an *ex post facto* law, upon the past in this case; for here the government and the India Company stand in the relation of principals, by whom former laws were made, or the trade under which was carried on licensed, so far as they were concerned: the merchants were only the accessories after the fact, that is, the licence to trade The government, therefore, cannot take advantage of its *own wrong*, and after taking the lion's share of the spoil, refuse protection and withhold indemnification to those who have in person and purse done ample suit and service for both. For, to say nothing of the revenue from tea, the profits of the Indian government, which is but a branch of the general revenue in the trade in opium, have been equal to 300 per cent., whilst those of the merchants or factor have averaged the usual rates of mercantile operations, from ten to fifteen per cent. only."

Against the traffic in opium, and against the use of it, let captain Bullock declaim as vehemently, and argue as strongly, as he likes; and when he quotes the good old maxim—

"Nothing extenuate,
"Nor set down aught in malice,"

let him conform thereto. In this book there is no lack of zeal, how much soever there may be of knowledge. As a specimen, take the following long and spirited paragraph. Having gone through with his 'tedious narrative,' and endeavored to disprove the charge of connivance on the part of the Chinese government, (the Chinese government, by its provincial officers, has never connived at the trade in opium?) he thus proceeds:

"Then it is said, admitting that the law existed, it had become relaxed, and it is hard upon individuals, suddenly to visit the penalties of an obsolete regulation. This charge is as unfounded and as unreasonable as the accusation of connivance. Mr. Warren, the unscrupulous accuser of the Chinese, the special pleader of the opium dealer, the clamorous petitioner for

remuneration and revenge, admits that 'in the years 1837 and 1838, measures of rapidly increasing stringency and vigor were pointed by the Chinese at the traffic, the aspect of affairs becoming every day more threatening.' He proceeds, 'no steps however were taken towards foreigners till the 12th December, 1838, on which day preparations were made by the Chinese authorities' to do what? 'to seize the opium? No: 'for strangling a native opium dealer in front of the factory—an act to the foreigners most offensive and unprecedented.' Now am I to be told that two years 'strenuous opposition' is not enough to remove a delusion from any rational mind, which was not hermetically sealed against conviction by sordid motives? But before 1837, in 1836, the merchants had become aware of the intention of the Chinese government to sift the trade, and to put it on a different footing, for it was in 1836 that one of the memorials quoted above was published in Canton. They had therefore three years to avoid the prospective penalties. It was only when prohibition, exhortation, and warning, repeated over and over again, had failed, that the penalties of the law were enforced. They might have avoided the consequence of their pertinacious resistance to the imperial decrees to the last hour. Nothing is more plain than that the Chinese authorities exercised their power with the utmost reluctance. That reluctance is to be accounted for on interested motives. No pecuniary consideration was sufficiently strong to overcome the emperor's determination, not to leave his people exposed to the calamitous effects of opium; but if this illegal traffic could have been put down, without interruption of the legitimate trade of the port, if the tares could have been destroyed without the wheat, it was the interest, and unquestionably it was the wish of the government, so to arrange it. But this lenient course of proceeding was prevented by the English merchants, who doggedly persisted. And so entirely were their minds absorbed by the desire of gain, and their judgments perverted, that not even policy suggested a temporary suspension of the trade. The death of an opium criminal before their doors, irritated but did not alarm them; the degradation and punishment of their native coadjutors, the hong merchants, occasioned neither reflection nor remorse. The solemn bond given to these hong merchants was violated; the urgent and reiterated remonstrances of captain Elliot passed by them as the idle wind which they regarded not. They were bound hand and foot by the demon of cupidity, and were equally lost to the appeals of reason, the obligations of honor, and even the suggestions of mercy, Nay, when the opium had been seized and confiscated, and at the very moment they were appealing to their sovereign and country for redress, it is an authenticated fact established by "damning proof," that this body of men were superadding to the crime of smuggling their accursed drug—preconcerted murder—for were they not sending forth armed ships, with crews of double the usual strength, to cruize along the coasts of China, with instructions, that if attacked by the constituted authorities, or opposed in the importation of opium, they were to resist! and do we not read that a brisk trade is now carried on by and through these piratical vessels! Already

many Chinese officers and men, in the due execution of the lawful commands of their emperor, have fallen victims to this atrocious and deliberate preparation, made and provided against their anticipated opposition, by the contraband dealers; and no truth is more assured than this, that every Chinese, who thus falls, is in the eye of God and of man, and of the law both human and divine, a murdered man. These are not exaggerated opinions, nor are the facts supposititious: the former are self-evident principles, the latter fully authenticated truths, of which every man may satisfy himself by perusing recent accounts from China, which coming from the delinquents themselves, as well as others not implicated, but still English, and therefore not prejudiced witnesses, may surely be believed. And in despite of all this, we are to be told that 'our honorable and unoffending' countrymen, if duly warned, would have intermitted their trade, and that the seizure was suddenly and tyrannically enforced by a barbarous government!" pp. 85-88.

Here, as throughout the book, the whole blame is thrown on the *English* merchants in China. But when and wherein did the English merchants here violate a 'solemn bond' given to hong merchants? And where is the proof that 'this *body* of men' were adding 'preconcerted murder to the crime of smuggling?' Let all the evils of the traffic, say we again, be exposed, and let them be carried to the account of those, and *only* those, to whom they belong.

In an introductory 'note to the reader,' captain Bullock says, it was less his object to give his own opinion than to enable the reader to form a just one of his own. With this declaration, the general tenor of his book is not in keeping. He affirms, no, he insinuates—'I thank thee Jew,'—he insinuates that his opponents are apt to clothe simple facts in harsh language, impute evil motives that do not exist, &c. Thus advertised, *in limine*, we did not expect to find his book filled with opinions of his own, and his countrymen here by him indiscriminately called 'audacious criminals,' 'malefactors,' 'pitiless,' 'treacherous,' 'sordid men,' &c., &c.

We must hasten to close this notice. If the writer of the pamphlet is truly anxious to free the Chinese from the evils, and his country from the reproach of this trade, we beg he will in becoming language address himself to its principals. He justly remarks, "the question now pending between England and the celestial empire, is one of the most momentous interest. In its immediate consequences it may fall heavy on the comfort of every domestic circle throughout England; in its ultimate results it is beyond the power of human prescience to estimate the probable extent of the evil. It becomes, then, the duty of every man to ascertain the facts of the case, and not blindly defer his opinion to another." * * * After all his labored defense of the

Chinese, we fear that he thinks more of 'the comfort of every domestic circle throughout England,' than of the misery of every domestic circle throughout China—thinks more of his own associations of past happy intercourse of friends around the social tea-board, than of the many impoverished and diseased families, whose prospects in life have been blasted, whose means of support have been crippled, and whose happiness and comforts have all departed, in consequence of the entrance of this baleful drug. Not the half—nay, not the hundredth part—of the evils and miseries caused by opium, have yet been published to the world. Almost every day brings to our notice new disclosures of these evils.

He does not tell the reader why he stood forth to write "the Chinese Vindicated, &c." But in perusing his 120 pages, it appears singular, that from beginning to end the reader finds no mention of the monopoly of the drug by the E. I. Company, or of the countenance and support the trade has received by parliament. On page 84, he says, "long before the question had become important, or before any party had any interest or object in misrepresenting or misleading, it was notorious as the sun at noonday, that the trade in opium was a smuggling trade, carried on in defiance of the laws of China, insomuch that *no ship* * belonging to the honorable Company was ever permitted to carry the drug to that coast." But what has that Company done—what is it now doing in this matter? Will capt. Bullock, as a generous officer, long resident in India, frankly and fully detail the whole truth in this particular? Fearing he will not, we beg to draw the reader's attention to a paragraph which we quote from the Eclectic Review for March, 1840. The writer, in a long article, is describing what he knows of "the present condition of British India," and on page 321, says—

"The iniquities of the opium trade we have already introduced to our readers. The seat and origin of the trade are here on the plains of India. The growth and sale of that pestilential drug is another of the monstrous monopolies of the Indian government. As if possessed by some principle of gigantic evil, that government, eschewing all sources of healthful commerce, seizes with a morbid avidity on what is most pregnant with plagues and calamities. Knowing, with a calm consciousness, all the horrors which opium inflicts on the Chinese, the government not only curses them with it, but makes its growth a curse also to the people of India. The poppy is planted amid curses, its produce is purchased with extortion, carried forth

* This is contradicted by a statement made by Phipps. See his book on India, p 208.

with violence, and sold to work the physical and moral ruin of millions. On the finest corn lands of Benares, Behar, and part of Bengal, the inhabitants are compelled to grow opium, and opium alone; and it speedily exhausts the soil. The opium being manufactured, the Company takes it all, giving the growers such a price as it pleases; and what proportion that is of its real value may be seen from this fact, attested by the returns of the India House. When the Company in 1822, was obtaining 60*s.* per *lb.* for its opium, at its sales at Calcutta, it was giving its wretched cultivators 2*s.* per *lb.*! Its estimated profit on opium has for the last ten years been one million a year; and the value of its opium exported to China, in 1839, was £2,700,926. Such is the trading conscience of the East India Company!"

This testimony, coupled with the speeches of the noble lord and duke above referred to, is enough to prove that the British merchants in China are not the *sole* parties in this traffic; nor will it ever cease until the policy of the British government—at home and in India—is greatly changed with regard to it. Captain Elliot—we are, we think, safe in saying, and in duty bound to say—has never shown himself either the protector or the friend of the opium trade. Moreover, with regard to British merchants, captain Bullock should know that there are those here who have ever kept themseves aloof from it; several others were desirous of freeing themselves from it long before the arrival of commissioner Lin; and at this moment we doubt not that nine-tenths, if not every one of them would abandon it at once and for ever—provided it were disowned and disapproved of by their government, and a well-regulated and honorable commerce in all other articles opened and ratified with the Chinese.

The Chinese have been injured and wronged and misrepresented, and we are glad to see men—British soldiers too—come forward in their vindication. But let it not be forgotten that they have inflicted injuries and done wrongs, neither few nor light. The impartial observer will see wrongs to be corrected on both sides. Our voice is not for war. With the old order of things here, peace and honorable intercourse were wholly incompatible, and we rejoice heartily that it is broken up. But we are filled with solicitude for the issue of the order that now is—not so much on account of tardiness as for acts done,—if they be faithfully detailed by the correspondent of the Canton Press of the 26th inst. If that and other letters we have seen are to be received as true, this order of 'communication,'—the noble lord will not have it called hostilities—directed by the powers that be, H. B. M.'s ministers and the governor-general of India, will to capt. Bullock be hardly less offensive than the conduct of the 'pitiless merchants.' If, however, he desires to work out a reform, let him develop

the whole truth, showing both sides of the picture. The '*vice in foreigners*,' on which he harps, was not smuggling, but a thing of which 'it is a shame even to speak.'* And then there are many other points about which he is wholly or in part wrong. But if he will write more, let him see to it that he is right in his premises; and let him, officer-like, direct his artillery against the strong holds of his enemy. Let him call on H. B. M.'s ministers, parliament, and the E. I. government, to disown this darling child, which has yielded them so many millions of revenue—'drawn from strangers.' Until this be done, he may read his vindications to the wind, and lavish on the free trader all the hard words he can command, and the traffic will still go on and increase, and the use of the drug will increase, as they have done for years past, augmenting to a fearful degree the victims of this fascinating 'luxury,' and this most fatal habit.

ART. IX. *Parliamentary debate on Chinese affairs: speeches of leading members; the Blue Book; the Quarterly Review; and Blackwood's Magazine.*

BOTH of these journals, the Quarterly and Blackwood, in the numbers for March last contain long articles on Chinese affairs. The writer in the Review says, 'once we deprecated war against the Chinese, and should still prefer a peacable adjustment of the question; but this appears to be now impossible.' 'The general feeling of the British nation seems to be now for war; ministers are for it; and almost all the writers of pamphlets (ten of which he has under review) are for war.' 'And whatever is to be done, we trust will be effectual and that our demand upon them will be peremptory—the execution prompt.' He objects to the occupation of any peninsular position, and thinks the first and great blow should be struck on Canton. But he trusts that nothing of this kind will be done, "until a declaration of war, and subsequent or simultaneous notification of blockade, according to ancient practice, shall have been promulged." 'There is

* This unnatural crime prevails to an incredible extent in this part of the empire, and especially among officials; and, judging foreigners to be as bad as themselves, they falsely charge them with the guilt of this sin, and in broad capitals post it up on the factor's own walls, "where all eyes may see it," there to remain for months.

danger he rightly thinks of estimating the strength of the Chinese too low. He intimates his *suspicion* that the evils of opium are greatly exaggerated, and believes that the smoking of the drug is '*a very confined and limited practice.*' In this connection, he intimates that 'our government has reason to be alarmed for things nearer home;—the importation of opium is rapidly increasing; the use of the drug is extending, especially in our manufacturing districts; and we understand many of our temperance societies are making up for their abstinence from gin by the use of opium.' By a return made to the House of Commons, there was in the year ending

January 5th, 1839, imported	95,832*lbs.*	consumed 31,204*lbs.*
January 5th, 1840, imported	196,246*lbs.*	consumed 41,671*lbs.*
Increase	100,414	10,467

The writer in Blackwood is very importunate in his demands for active measures. He gives a 'circumstantial narrative of Chinese aggression and British supineness; exposes the spurious pretenses of Chinese humanity; upholds the righteousness of the claim of the oppressed merchants; does not dispute the absolute right of the Chinese to suppress the opium trade, or the positive justice of enforcing the laws against illicit traffic and contrabandists; nay, more; he says "we shall not deny their clear right to close all dealings, whether in tea, or cottons, or silks, or woollens, upon due notice given and time allowed for the liquidation of accounts and affairs—a period of years and not days; provided always that ample indemnification—indemnification beyond perhaps even the means of China—be proffered and paid for the countless millions of capital embarked in property afloat or on shore, fixed or moveable, little of it elsewhere available, embarked on the faith of ancient stipulations, and the rights established of commercial intercourse for centuries." And then he adds: "If that commerce is hereafter to be carried on, and that intercourse maintained, *it must be, it can only be, upon covenants fresh drawn, consented, signed, sealed, and lastly ratified with the salvoes of British thunder.*"

Both articles—that in the Review and that in the Magazine—are written with ability and spirit. The first article is the most correct in its details and conclusions, excepting only in its special partialities to the E. I. Company and its servants, and in its correlative antipathies to the free trade and its officers; the second article is the most strong, bold, and loud in its tones of denunciation and calls for redress. The fate and fortune of three hundred millions 'have be-

come vitally entangled with an issue of money damages of which somewhere about three hundred millions sterling (300,000,000*l.*) is the amount recited in the declaration, apart the cost of judgment, execution, and example; and never was public robbery perpetrated under circumstances attendant of fraud, falsehood, cowardice, and treachery, more revolting. For China, therefore, the die is cast.' This writer, in Blackwood, in his closing paragraph, errs most egregiously when he declares that China "has been long arming for the inevitable fight, and preparing for the hour of fate."

The policy of China has always been *hostile* to free foreign intercourse, however friendly or beneficial; and therein was there wrong which ought long ago to have been corrected. Western nations, having extensive commercial relations with this empire, ought long since to have established and regulated those relations by civil and political contracts—nay, they ought, so we think, to have *constrained* the Chinese to abandon their unjust and injurious pretensions of supremacy. In the present struggle, no new principles, no new policy, or demands have been set up by them; they have only carried out and put in practice what long ago existed here in theory. And for this excessive outrage, they have found cause (sufficient they think) in the effects of opium—resulting from its use and the traffic in it. This supineness on the part of foreign governments, this neglect of timely interposition, the writer in Blackwood acknowledges and reprobates; but the writer in the Quarterly is not aware of any neglect, and seems to imagine that his good masters (of the E. I. C.?) had they not been interfered with, would have conserved the trade to the end of time; while by both writers, the effects of opium, the proximate cause of the present struggle, are quite overlooked. The wound inflicted by this drug on the Chinese (albeit themselves consenting and abetting) is far deeper than any of the pamphleteers or reviewers imagine. It is so deep and so palpable that, insensible as the Chinese naturally are to evils of this kind, they now clearly see, and feel too, that a noxious thing has spread gradually but rapidly far and wide through the whole length and breadth of the empire, its ramifications secretly extending into all ranks of society, abstracting their gold and silver, debasing all their physical and moral energies, and reducing man far down beneath the level of the brute.

Turn we now to the speakers in parliament. On the 4th of April, at Buckingham palace, an order in council appeared, authorizing the seizure and confiscation of Chinese vessels and cargoes, but without specifying any particulars of the late injurious proceedings in justifi-

cation of that order. Three days subsequently, the subject was brought into the national assembly, and there for three successive days was almost the sole topic of debate. A few extracts from the leading speeches on that occasion form a part of the first article in this number, and they are fair specimens of the whole debate—a debate clearly evincing the strength of parties and of party feeling—a debate which, however, is by no means compatible with what was expected from "the most civilized, the most enlightened, the most benevolent, the most pious country under the sun." We know not how to characterize that debate; had it occurred in the halls of Peking, we should have felt little surprise at the entire overlooking of all those high moral considerations, which, when duly heeded and acted on, are at once and alike the glory and the strength of an empire. As 'there is no power but of God,' and as all are responsible to him for its exercise, it were as reasonable as right to expect some recognition thereof by Christian statesmen, when acting on a question so momentous as that of going to war with one third part of the human family. During the long harangues of those three days, not a sentence is heard worthy of the occasion. The noble spirit of true Christian philanthropy, careful only for what is right and good, jealous for the liberties of the oppressed, and as watchful for the stranger's as for one's own interests, seems not to have been present then and there, as it used to be on other occasions no less momentous. In after times, the sons of Britannia will sigh over the records of those days, remarkable mainly for party strife and for almost an entire neglect of all the interests worthy of the representatives of a great nation. The few expressions particularly to be excepted from censure are—those frankly avowing their interest in and their connection with the traffic in opium,—those sanctioning the conduct of captain Elliot, and thereby pledging the national faith for the fulfillment of his stipulations for indemnity—and those clearly indicating their intentions to establish political relations with the government of China.

In reading the speeches, we observed several errors in facts, and some false conclusions. To a few of these we shall first advert, and then proceed to examine the notable 'Blue Book.'—All of which, however, must be reserved for our next number.

ART. X. *Journal of Occurrences; plenipotentiaries at Teentsin; state of affairs at Chusan; blockade of Amoy; foreigners in Canton; Mr. Stanton; reminiscences of the attack on the Barrier; departure of the U. S. A. consul; death of an American seaman; foreign shipping; pilots; Nipál.*

RUMORS generally precede authentic dispatches, in China. About the middle of the month, it was rumored here that H. B. M. ships reached Teëntsin on the 11th of August. Soon after, a report was current, that lord Palmerston's communication had been delivered to the Chinese, their officers received on board, and arrangements made for the commission to proceed to Peking, &c. The situation of these places, and the course of the *Pei ho*, may be seen by a reference to the narrative of Macartney's embassy. The city of Teëntsin 天津, is in lat. 39° 10′ N., about 90 miles S.E. from the capital, which is in lat. 39° 55′ N., long. 116° 45′ E. from Greenwich, and nearly due west distant about 30 miles from the mouth of the Pei ho, which, rising beyond the Great Wall, flows within 12 miles of Peking, and thence to Teëntsin and the sea. A little below the river's mouth there is a bar of sand, stretching N N.E. and S.S.W., over which, at low water, the depth is not more than three or four feet.

Since writing the preceding, we have heard that *Keshen* and *Muhchangah* and two other officers formed the emperor's deputation, and that the communication reached the emperor on or about the 23d. This report is believed by many of the Chinese

2. From *Chusan*, no official accounts have appeared here during the month. The notices which have been published in the Register and Press are bad enough, and we suspect are too highly colored; we subjoin the latest and most important.

"We have been, as the Spaniards say, *andando de mal en peor*, almost from the first day we landed here. Our attempts to reconcile the people, and get them to live with us and confide in us, have *utterly failed!* They seem to be animated but by one wish, which is, to get their property out of our hands, and leave us masters of the bare walls of Tinghae city The property has been carried off, the shops and houses shut up, nothing whatever is now to be found in the bazaar, and, in a word, the town appears to be ten times more deserted and desolate *now*, than it was the first day I arrived. From what I have observed of the people, they seem to be a very timid, cowardly race, horribly afraid of Europeans, and still more of our fire-arms. But at the same time they are very cunning and tricky, and sadly given to lying and thieving It is quite *impossible* that they can coalesce with us. But I am sorry to add that they have in a thousand instances received great injustice at our hands. While we have been issuing proclamations, talking *sweet words*, inviting them to settle among us and promising them every protection, our soldiers and sailors have been plundering them, and forcibly carrying off their poultry and cattle without giving them a fair equivalent, and in some instances no equivalent at all. A recent order to *impress* a number of able-bodied Chinese to work at our fortifications, has completed the previous misunderstanding, and the breach between us and our Chinese subjects of Chusan is now, I fear, irreparable. *They* have but *one* object, to avoid *us*; *we* have but *one* object, to get stock out of *them*; and on this point it is hardly likely that we shall experience much devotion from our Chinese subjects, or that they will form a high idea of the justice, moderation, and mildness of the British sway. As the Chinese will not hearken to our offers of protection and kind treatment, we are now going to adopt a different line of conduct towards them. We are going to break open all

the unoccupied shops and houses, and take possession of them for governmental purposes; as they will no longer bring poultry and vegetables to market, we are going to forage their farms; as they will not sell their horned cattle to us to eat, preferring to keep them for tilling their fields and grinding their corn, we are going to take them by force; and as they will sell us no fish, we are going to take measures to prevent them fishing at all. Formerly, I should have viewed such measures with horror; *now*, however, I look upon them with more complacency, for the breach between us being, as I said, irreparable, it is a less evil that we take their provisions and stock by force, than that they pour them into the lap of the common enemy. *Our* dominion in Chusan extends to the bare walls of Tinghae city, all beyond that they are more sincerely attached to their own emperor than ever, and, really, from what I have seen with my own eyes, I am not at all astonished at it.

"Sickness has been making a sad inroad upon us: the 26th Cameronians have 210 men in the hospital, and other regiments in proportion. Dysentery is the common complaint, and a few cases have already terminated fatally. There is scarce one among my numerous acquaintance who has not suffered more or less from it. Mr. Gutzlaff has been *very* ill, but is now better. A man of the 26th died of scurvy three days ago. So much for the beautiful climate of Chusan; it is the most dreadful climate that I ever lived in! As regards Chusan being a place to carry on a great trade, we are still further off the scent than ever. Chusan never can be a *large* mart for trade, and reason simply is that it is quite out of the way. *We* may bring our produce and manufactures *here* for sale, but the Chinese will be able to get them cheaper and better at Canton. We may encourage them to bring their black tea here, but they could convey it much more conveniently to Lintin or Macao. This is even supposing that the emperor gave us permission to hold Chusan, and how much more must this apply if he interdicts all communication between us and his subjects? Depend upon it that Chusan must *always* remain a place of comparative insignificance. Amoy would perhaps be better, but Canton, having been the centre of trade for many years, a market being already formed there, and the people already knowing our language, disposition, taste, &c., &c., must yet remain the centre of foreign commerce for many years to come. I hope that you have given up all idea of shifting your establishment to Chusan. Were you to abandon your business at Macao for this place you would have reason bitterly to repent of it. Were it not that my hopes are high of seeing the interior of China, you should very speedily see me back again at Macao. Anything in the shape of *comfort* exists not here!

"The Alligator and Braemer transport are gone down to blockade Fuhchow foo. Our blockades here get on better than your's at the Bogue, for the local government have stopped up the rivers and wont allow *their own* vessels to go out or come in! How lucky it is that the mandarins are thus playing their cards into our hands! if *they* and the *people* were only to unite against us, they would very soon make light of our foolish system of blockade. It is worse than useless to blockade a nation whose resources like the Chinese are *internal* not *external*. It is *impossible* for us to keep up a blockade of this kind for a *twelvemonth*, and the sooner we give it up for some more *effective* method, the better.

"No word yet of the admiral, but we expect him back from the Pei ho in 10 or 12 days. I hope he will not succeed in his negociations, and indeed there is every chance of his meeting a mortifying repulse. I am for a *firm* and *lasting* peace, not a mere hollow truce, and the former can never be obtained till the Chinese shall have been well thrashed, and made to confess our superiority. In the amazingly short space of six weeks, two attempts have been made to heave down the Melville but without success; it is feared that the damage she has sustained is very serious indeed. Really a degree of apathy has come over the leaders of this expedition that is quite unaccountable; it bodes anything but success to our cause.

"August 22d. H. M. S. Nimrod is in with dates from Macao to the 5th inst."

3. The *port of Amoy*, as it appears from the following paragraph, extracted from a private letter and published in the Canton Press, is under blockade by a part of the British squadron.

"The Amoy mandarins, have at last met their match, in the Alligator assisted

by the Braemar. A lieutenant of the Alligator was on board the Lyra, and described the effect of their shot on the junks as splendid, passing clean through them and then going on shore. They sunk 16 or 17 junks, and there could not have been such destruction among the vessels, without a very great loss of life; they had nobody hurt on board the ships. When the Chinese found that their junks could not stand the fire from the ships they threw up a breastwork in one night, on the low sandy beach, fronting the channel into the junk's harbor, and there they have now mounted 204 guns, some of them very heavy. The ships not having force sufficient to force a landing, retired out of reach of the shot, many of which had struck them, some they have got of 18*lbs*. The sloop-of-war's main-yard arm was shot away, and a shot lodged in her hull. They have also built a fort on the island on the south of the channel leading into the harbor, and several other forts on projecting points of land in the harbor, and are making active preparations for defence. I rather think the ships have again gone north, as we have seen nothing of them for some days. From what was told Woodrow, the Blenheim is to be stationed at Amoy to blockade, and they seem to think from the resistance they had, that troops would also be sent down to assist."

4. In *Canton* only three or four foreign merchants are now residing; and two ships, the Panama and the Kosciusko are, with their officers and crews, at Whampoa.

5. *Mr. Stanton*, we have with deep regret to report, still remains a prisoner, in custody of the magistrate of Nanhae, the district in which the foreign factories are situated. If peace be restored, erelong he will be able, we trust, to give his friends an authentic narrative of his sufferings. The door of his apartment is guarded by two soldiers, and he is attended by a servant and linguist—the latter, by permission of his superiors, and at the request of Mr. Stanton, has furnished him with a Bible and an English prayer-book. The story of his having been offered as a sacrifice to the demon of war, though false, was not without foundation.

6. *Some reminiscences* of the attack on the Barrier, the 19th ult., will serve to complete the account of that action, as given in our last. From that day to this (the last of September), not a Chinese soldier, except in disguise, has been in Macao, nor have any of the war-junks or troop-boats returned to their former anchorages in the Inner Harbor. On the hills beyond and on the east of Caza Branca the troops have pitched their tents, and have also thrown up a small redoubt on a knoll about three quarters of a mile north of the Barrier, to which place they have taken the cannon left spiked by the British, unspiked them, and planted them so as to command the upper part of the Inner Harbor, and the northern neck on which the Barrier stands. The taoutae, *Yih*, once so valiant and brave, has suffered much and just reproach for his conduct on the day of the attack; he has not been displaced, as was at one time reported, but has been superseded by another officer, surnamed *Ma*, of the same rank.—Four Chinese spectators of the action on the 19th, received gunshot wounds; two of them have been received on the list of patients at the Medical Missionary Hospital in Macao: the first came to the institution the next morning, and was discharged on the 6th instant. He was one of the crowd of spectators, covering the top of the hill in the rear of the New Temple. "The ball from a musket entered the front of his thigh a little distance from and to the inside of the femoral artery, traversing through the cellular tissue to the back of the

limb, where it could be felt distinctly under the skin. The ball was easily extracted through an incision, much to the surprise and joy of the wounded man. Strange to say, he did not know he was shot, till, when running from the hill, he perceived the blood on his clothes, and was thus directed to the cause. The other one in the hospital received a musket ball through his foot, while running from the scene of danger. The Barrier still remains unfortified, though the buildings are occupied.

7. *P. W. Snow, esq. U. S. A. consul*,—as we ought to have, and but for an oversight should have, reported in our last number—embarked the 21st ultimo, in the Valparaiso, captain Lockwood, for New York, *viâ* Manila. Mr. Snow expects to return to China,—and after only a short absence, if an adjustment of the existing difficulties with the government in China is speedily effected. In the meantime, *W. Delano, jun. esq.* acts as vice-consul.

8. *The death of an American seaman*, in Macao, on the night of the 9th, has been noticed in the Portuguese papers, from which the following particulars are extracted

"On Thursday, the 9th inst. about 9 o'clock in the evening a patrol of the people attached to the district of San Lourenço, siezed a negro at the Painha in consequence of his making disturbance with the Chinese, and delivered him over to the officer with four of his men to be carried to prison While on the way, he endeavored to escape, running down to the Praya Manduco, where, meeting with many people, and finally a guard of soldiers, he, while endeavoring to defend himself with a seat which he had picked up in the street, and then with other arms procured from the boarding-house where he lived, and into which he run, unhappily fell dead from a shot. It is said by some that the shot was not from the military, nor from the patrol, but from some person assisting. This black was a sinewy man, and very violent: he arrived here in the Am. brig Duan, in which he alone, in a mutiny, had overcome the captain and all his crew, who therefore sought aid from the governor, by whom he had been imprisoned. The captain, fearing a second mutiny, had left him behind." *O Commercial, Sep.* 12*th*.

In consequence of this casualty, the governor, on the 11th inst., prohibited the use of loaded arms to the nightly patrols, except in case they should be attacked by a superior armed force, an event which, his excellency remarked, was not likely to happen.

9. *The foreign shipping*, now in the Chinese waters, can hardly be estimated with accuracy. The port of Canton continuing under blockade, all or nearly all the regular trade is suspended; that in opium flourishes as formerly. In a letter now before us, dated the 4th instant, it is stated that 16 ships and barks, mounting 6 to 16 guns and carrying 30 to 90 men each, and 27 brigs and schooners with 4 to 12 guns and 20 to 60 men each, are now engaged in the opium trade. It is also stated that there are (or was on the 4th) not less than 12,000 chests in the Chinese waters, and 28,000 to 30,000 more in the ports of India.

10. *Pilots*, it is said, have been directed early to visit the foreign vessels as they come in from sea, in order to keep them separate from the English shipping, and if possible to induce them to go up to Whampoa.

11. A move on *Nipál*, at the beginning of the cold season, is confidently spoken of in the Indian papers.